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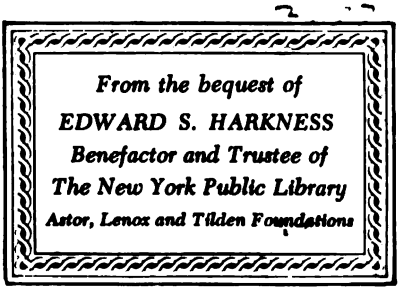
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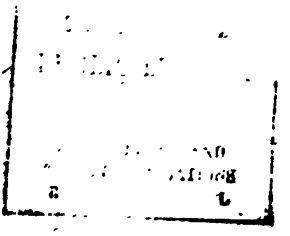

OTHO the GREAT.

Gwin delin. Hall fculp.

THE

WORKS

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

WITH

Notes, Hiſtorical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE SIXTEENTH.

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FREDERICK II.

TWENTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1214.

OTHO being vanquiſhed, and totally abandoned, retires to Brunſwick, where he is left in peace, becauſe he is no longer formidable. He is not depoſed, but forgot. He is ſaid to have become a devotee: the reſource of the unhappy, and the paſſion of weak minds. His penance is ſaid to have conſiſted in his being thrown down and kicked by his kitchen-boys, as if the kicks of a turnſpit could expiate the faults of a prince.

1215.

Frederick II. emperor in conſequence of the victory at Bovines, is every where acknowledged.

During the troubles of Germany, we have ſeen that the Danes conquered a great deal of territory to the northward and eaſtward of the Elbe. Frederick II. began by abandoning theſe lands by treaty, in which Hamburg is comprehended. But, as a diſadvantageous treaty is renounced upon the firſt opportunity, he takes advantage of a quarrel between Otho's brother count Palatine of the Rhine and the Danes, receives Hamburg into his protection, and afterwards reſtores it. A ſhameful beginning of an illuſtrious reign.

The ſecond coronation of the emperor at Aix-la-chapelle. He diſpoſſeſſes the count Palatine, and the Palatinate reverts to the houſe of Bavaria Witelſbach.

A new cruſade. The emperor takes the croſs. He muſt certainly have ſtill doubted his own power, ſeeing he promiſed to pope Innocent III. that he would never reunite Naples and Sicily to the empire, but give them to his ſon as ſoon as he ſhould be conſecrated at Rome.

1216.

Frederick II. remains in Germany with his croſs, and entertains more deſigns upon Italy than upon Paleſtine. In vain the cruſade is preached to all the kings. At this time no prince ſet out but Andrew II. king of Hungary. That people who were ſcarcely Chriſtians, take the croſs againſt the Muſſulmans, whom they call infidels.

1217.

The German cruſards depart, nevertheleſs, under various chiefs by ſea and land. The fleet of the Low Countries being detained by contrary winds, affords the cruſards another opportunity

tunity of employing their arms uſefully in Spain. They join the Portugueſe, and defeat the Moors. That victory might have been purſued, and Spain wholly delivered, but pope Honorius III. the ſucceſſor of Innocent, will not allow it. The Popes commanded the cruſards as the ſoldiers of God, yet they could ſend them no where but to the Eaſt. Men muſt be ruled according to their prejudices, and thoſe ſoldiers of the popes would not have obeyed them elſewhere.

1218.

Frederick II. had great reaſon to poſtpone his voyage. The towns of Italy and Milan, in particular, refuſed to acknowlege a ſovereign, who being maſter of Germany and the two Sicilies, was powerful enough to enſlave all Italy. They ſtill held for Otho IV. who lived obſcurely in a corner of Germany. Acknowledging him for emperor, was in fact declaring themſelves entirely free.

Otho dies near Brunſwick, and Lombardy has no longer a pretext.

1219.

A great diet at Frankfort, where Frederick II. cauſes his ſon Henry, a child of nine years, by Conſtance of Arragon, to be elected king of the Romans. All thoſe diets were held in the open field, as they are ſtill in Poland.

The emperor renounces his right to the moveables of deceaſed biſhops, and to the revenues of vacant ſees. This is what the French call *la Regale*. He renounces the right of juriſdiction in epiſcopal towns, where the emperor ſhall happen to be, unleſs he there keeps his

court. Almoſt all the firſt acts of this prince are renunciations.

1220.

He goes to Italy in queſt of that empire which Frederick Barbaroſſa had not been able to obtain. Milan at firſt ſhuts her gates, as to the grandſon of Barbaroſſa, whoſe memory the Milaneſe deteſted. He pockets the affront, and goes to be crowned at Rome. Honorius III. at firſt demands that the emperor will confirm him in the poſſeſſion of ſeveral territories of the counteſs Mathilda. To theſe Frederick adds the territory of Fondi. The Pope deſires him to renew his oath to go to the Holy Land; the emperor renews that oath, after which he is crowned with all the ceremonies, whether humble or humbling, of his predeceſſor. He likewiſe ſignalizes his coronation by bloody edicts againſt heretics. Not that hereſy was then known in Germany, where ignorance reigned, with courage and diſorder: but the inquiſition had been eſtabliſhed on account of the Albigenſes; and the emperor, to pleaſe the Pope, iſſued thoſe cruel edicts, by which the children of heretics are excluded from the ſucceſſion of their fathers.

Theſe laws, confirmed by the Pope, were viſibly dictated in order to juſtify the ſeizure of the eſtates taken by the church, and by force of arms, from the houſe of Tholouſe in the war of the Albigenſes. The counts of Tholouſe had a great many fiefs of the empire. Frederick was abſolutely reſolved to pleaſe the Pope. Such laws were neither of a piece with his age or character. Could they poſſible have been ſuggeſted

ſuggeſted by his chancellor Peter de Vineis, who is accuſed of having written the pretended book of the three impoſtors *, or at leaſt of having harboured the opinion which the title of the book implies?

1221, 1222, 1223; 1224.

During theſe years Frederick did things more worthy of remembrance. He embelliſhed and aggrandized Naples, makes it the metropolis of the kingdom, and in a little time it becomes the moſt populous town in Italy. There was ſtill a number of Saracens in Sicily, and they frequently had recourſe to arms: he tranſports them to Lucera in Apulia; hence that town acquired the name of *Lucera*, or *Nocera de Pagani*.

The academy or univerſity of Naples is eſtabliſhed, and flouriſhes. There the law is taught, and the Lombard laws gradually give way to the Roman law.

The deſign of Frederick II. ſeems to have been to reſide in Italy. One is attached to one's native country: his was already embelliſhed; and that the moſt delightful country of Europe. He ſpends fifteen years without going to Germany. Why ſhould he have ſo much flattered the Popes, and reſpected the towns of Italy, if he had not conceived the idea of eſtabliſhing at laſt the ſeat of the empire at Rome? was not that the only way of extricating himſelf from that equivocal ſituation in which all the emperors reigned? a ſituation become ſtill more perplexing, ſince the emperor was at once king of Naples, and vaſſal of the holy ſee, and had promiſed to diſmember Naples and Sicily from the

* Namely, Moſes, Chriſt, and Mahomet.

empire. All this confuſion would have been at laſt unravelled, had the emperor been maſter of Italy; but deſtiny otherwiſe ordained.

It likewiſe appears that the Pope's great deſign was to rid his hands of Frederick, by ſending him to the Holy Land. In order to accompliſh this deſign, he had, after the death of Conſtance of Arragon, perſuaded him to marry one of the pretended heireſſes of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, which had been long loſt. John of Brienne, who aſſumed the empty title of king of Jeruſalem, founded on his mother's claim, gave his daughter Jolanda or Violante in marriage to Frederick, with Jeruſalem as her dower; in other words, almoſt nothing at all: and Frederick married her becauſe ſhe was handſome, and he choſe to pleaſe the Pope. Since that time, the kings of Sicily have always taken the title of king of Jeruſalem. Frederick was in no hurry to go and conquer his wife's portion, which conſiſted only of a claim to a ſmall maritime territory, ſtill poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians in Syria.

1225.

During the preceding, and in the following years, young Henry, the emperor's ſon, reſided conſtantly in Germany. A great revolution happens in Denmark, and in all the provinces that border on the Baltic. The Daniſh king Waldemar had made himſelf maſter of thoſe provinces which were inhabited by the weſtern Slaves and the Vandals. From Hamburg to Dantzic, and from Dantzic to Revel, the whole country acknowledged Waldemar.

A count of Schwerin in Mecklenburg, who had become vaſſal to that king, forms the deſign

ſign of carrying off Waldemar, and the hereditary prince his ſon: and this deſign he executes at a hunting-match, May 23, 1223.

The king of Denmark being priſoner, implores the aſſiſtance of pope Honorius III. who commands the count of Schwerin, and the other German lords who were concerned in this enterprize, to ſet the king and his ſon at liberty. The popes pretended to have beſtowed the crown of Denmark, as well as thoſe of Poland and Bohemia. The emperors likewiſe pretended to have beſtowed it. The popes and emperors, who were not maſters in Rome, always diſputed the right of making kings at the extremity of Europe. They paid no regard to the command of Honorius. The knights of the Teutonic order join the biſhop of Riga in Livonia, and make themſelves maſters of part of the coaſt of the Baltic.

Lubeck and Hamburg re-enjoy their liberty and rights. Waldemar and his ſon, after having been ſtripped of almoſt all they had in that country, are ſet at liberty, in conſequence of giving a very large ranſom.

Here we find a new power inſenſibly eſtabliſhed: that is, the Teutonic order, which has already a grand maſter, together with fiefs in Germany, and conquers territories lying upon the Baltic.

1226.

This grand maſter of the Teutonic order ſolicits in Germany new ſuccours for Paleſtine. Pope Honorius preſſes the emperor to leave Italy as ſoon as poſſible, and go and accompliſh his vow in Syria. It muſt be obſerved, that there was at this time a truce of nine years ſubſiſting

between the ſultan of Ægypt and the cruſards. Frederick II. therefore had no vow to accompliſh. He promiſes to maintain knights in Paleſtine, and is not excommunicated. He ought to have eſtabliſhed himſelf in Lombardy, and afterwards in Rome, rather than in Paleſtine. The Lombard towns had time to enter into an aſſociation; they were called the confederate towns; Milan and Bologna were at their head, and they were no longer conſidered as ſubjects, but as vaſſals of the empire. Frederick II. was deſirous of attaching them to him at leaſt; and this was a difficult taſk. He convokes a diet at Cremona, and ſummons all the Italian and German noblemen to attend.

The Pope, fearing the emperor would aſſume too much authority in this diet, involves him in affairs at Naples. He appoints biſhops to five vacant ſees in that kingdom, without conſulting Frederick; he forbids ſeveral towns and noblemen to go to the aſſembly at Cremona; he ſupports the rights of the aſſociated towns, and makes himſelf defender of the Italic liberty.

1227.

A fine triumph for Honorius III. the emperor having put Milan to the ban of the empire, and transferred to Naples the univerſity of Bologna, admits the Pope as judge. All the towns ſubmit to his deciſion. The Pope, as umpire between the emperor and Italy, pronounces ſentence: "We decree that the emperor ſhall forget his reſentment againſt all the towns, and we decree that the towns ſhall furniſh and maintain four hundred knights for the aſſiſtance of the Holy Land, during the term of two years."

This

This was a declaration worthy at once of a ſovereign and pontiff.

Having determined in this manner between Italy and the emperor, he ſits as judge of Waldemar king of Denmark, who had taken an oath to pay the reſt of his ranſom to the German lords, and ſworn that he would never retake what he had yielded. The Pope abſolves him of an oath taken in priſon and upon compulſion. Waldemar re-enters Holſtein, but is defeated. His nephew, the lord of Lunenburg and Brunſwick, who fights for him, is taken priſoner; nor is he releaſed until he hath yielded up ſome territories. All theſe expeditions are ſtill civil wars. Germany is for ſome time quiet.

1228.

Honorius III. dying, and Gregory IX. brother of Innocent III. ſucceeding, the politics of the pontificate continued the ſame; but the humour of the new pontiff was more haughty: he haſtens the cruſade, and preſſes the ſo often promiſed departure of Frederick II. He thought he muſt ſend that prince to Jeruſalem, in order to prevent his coming to Rome. This ſpirit of the times made people look upon that prince's vow as an indiſpenſible duty. Upon the firſt delay of the emperor, he is excommunicated by the Pope. Frederick ſtill diſſembles his reſentment, excuſes himſelf, prepares his fleet, and exacts of each fief of Sicily and Naples eight ounces of gold for his voyage: even the eccleſiaſtics ſupply him with money, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the Pope. At length he embarks at Brindiſi, though his excommunication is not taken off.

1229.

What ſtep does Gregory IX. take while the emperor goes to the Holy Land? He takes advantage of that prince's having neglected his abſolution, or rather of his contempt for the excommunication; and joins with the Milaneſe, and the other confederate towns, in order to wreſt from him the kingdom of Naples, which he was afraid would be incorporated with the empire.

Renaldo duke of Spoleto, and vicar of the kingdom, takes the marche of Ancona from the Pope: then his Holineſs preaches a cruſade in Italy, even againſt Frederick II. whom he had ſent upon a cruſade to the Holy Land.

He ſends an order to the titular patriarch of Jeruſalem, reſiding at Ptolemais, not to acknowledge the emperor.

Frederick, ſtill diſſembling, concludes with Meleſcala, whom we call Meledin, ſultan of Egypt and maſter of Syria, a treaty by which the aim of his cruſade ſeems to have been fulfilled. The ſultan cedes Jeruſalem to him, with ſome ſmall maritime towns of which the Chriſtians were ſtill in poſſeſſion; but upon condition that he ſhall not reſide at Jeruſalem; that the moſques built in thoſe holy places ſhall ſubſiſt; and that there ſhall be always an emir in the city. Frederick is ſuppoſed to have had ſome colluſion with the ſultan, in order to deceive the Pope: he goes to Jeruſalem with a very ſmall eſcorte, and there crowns himſelf; for no prelate would crown a perſon who was excommunicated: he ſoon returns to the kingdom of Naples, where his preſence was much wanted.

1230.

1230.

He finds in the territory of Capua his brother-in-law, John de Brienne, at the head of the papal cruſade.

The Pope's cruſards, who were called Guelphs, bore the ſign of the croſs-keys on the ſhoulder; whereas the emperor's cruſards, who were called Ghibelins, wore the croſs. The keys fled before the croſs.

All Italy was in combuſtion; and peace, being greatly wanted, was made July 23, at San-Germano. All that the emperor got was abſolution. He conſents, that, for the future, all benefices ſhall be given by election in Sicily; that no clerk, within his two kingdoms, ſhall be brought before a lay-judge; that all eccleſiaſtical eſtates ſhall be exempted from taxes; and, in fine, he gives money to the Pope.

1231.

Hitherto Frederick II. who is painted as the moſt dangerous, ſeems to have been the moſt patient of men; but it is pretended that his ſon was ready to rebel in Germany, and that this conſideration made the father ſo flexible in Italy.

1232, 1233, 1234.

It is very clear that the emperor's ſole deſign in ſtaying ſo long in Italy, was to found a true Roman empire. Maſter as he was in Naples and Sicily, if he had aſſumed the authority of the Othos in Lombardy, he muſt have been maſter alſo in Rome. This was his only crime in the eyes of the popes; and thoſe popes who perſecuted him with ſuch violence, were always regarded by part of Italy as the ſupports of the nation. The party of the Guelphs was that of

liberty. In ſuch circumſtances, Frederick ought to have had large treaſures, and a great and well-diſciplined army, always on foot. This is what he never had. Otho IV. much leſs powerful than he, had an army of near one hundred and thirty thouſand men in the field againſt the king of France; but he did not keep it in pay, and it was a tranſient effort of vaſſals and allies united for a moment.

Frederick might have cauſed his vaſſals to march from Germany to Italy. Pope Gregory IX. is ſaid to have prevented this ſcheme, by exciting Henry king of the Romans to revolt againſt his father, as Gregory VII. Urban II. and Paſchal II. had armed the children of Henry IV.

The king of the Romans at firſt engages in his party ſeveral towns along the Rhine and the Danube. The duke of Auſtria declares in his favour. Milan, Bologna, and other towns of Italy, engage in that party againſt the emperor.

1235.

Frederick II. at length returns to Germany, after an abſence of fifteen years. The marquis of Baden defeats the rebels. Young Henry comes and throws himſelf at his father's feet in the great diet at Mentz. It is in theſe famous diets, theſe parliaments of princes, where the emperors preſide in perſon, that the greateſt affairs of Europe are always treated of with the utmoſt ſolemnity. The emperor, in this memorable diet at Mentz, depoſes his ſon Henry king of the Romans; and dreading the fate of Lewis the Weak, ſurnamed The Debonnaire, as well as that of the courageous and too eaſy Henry IV. he condemns his rebel-

ſious ſon to perpetual impriſonment: he in that diet ſecures the duchy of Brunſwick to the houſe of Guelph, in whoſe poſſeſſion it ſtill remains: he ſolemnly receives the canon law publiſhed by Gregory IX. and orders the decrees of the empire, for the firſt time, to be publiſhed in the German language, though he himſelf did not love that tongue, but cultivated the romance to which the Italian ſucceeded.

1236.

He gives it in charge to the king of Bohemia, the duke of Bavaria, and ſome biſhops, who were enemies to the duke of Auſtria, to make war upon that duke, as vaſſals of the empire, who maintain its rights againſt rebels.

He returns to Lombardy, though with a few troops, conſequently can undertake no effectual expedition. Some towns, as Vicenza and Verona, being abandoned to plunder, render him more odious to the Guelphs, without making him more powerful.

1237.

He comes to Auſtria, which was defended by the Hungarians: he ſubdues it; founds an univerſity at Vienna; confirms the privileges of ſome imperial towns, ſuch as Ratiſbon and Straſbourg; cauſes his ſon Conrad to be acknowledged king of the Romans, in the room of Henry; and at length, after this ſucceſs in Germany, thinks himſelf ſtrong enough to accompliſh his grand ſcheme of ſubduing Italy. Thither he flies, takes Mantua, and defeats the army of the confederates.

The Pope, who now ſaw him making long ſtrides towards the execution of his great deſign, makes a diverſion by the affairs of the church; and,

and, under pretence that the emperor had cauſed clerks to be tried in lay-courts, excites all Italy againſt him, and the church excites the people.

1238. 1239.

Frederick II. had a baſtard, called Enzius, whom he had made king of Sardinia; another pretext for the pontiff, who pretended that Sardinia held of the holy ſee.

This was ſtill pope Gregory IX. The different names of the popes never make any alteration in the ſtate of affairs; it is always the ſame quarrel and the ſame ſpirit. Gregory IX. ſolemnly excommunicates the emperor twice in Paſſion Week. They write bitterly againſt each other. The Pope accuſes the emperor of having affirmed, that mankind had been deceived by three impoſtors, Moſes, Jeſus Chriſt, and Mahomet. Frederick calls Gregory Antichriſt, Balaam, and the Prince of Darkneſs.

The emperor's patience was at length exhauſted, and he believed himſelf powerful. The Dominicans and Franciſcans, the ſpiritual militia of the pope, lately eſtabliſhed, are expelled from Naples and Sicily. The Benedictines of Monte Caſſini ſhare the ſame fate, no more than eight being left to do duty; and the Pope's letters are forbid to be received in the two kingdoms, on pain of death.

All theſe proceedings tend more and more to inflame the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins. Venice and Genoa join the towns of Lombardy. The emperor marches againſt them, and is defeated by the Milaneſe. This is the third ſignal victory, by which the Milaneſe have ſupported their liberty againſt the emperors.

1240.

1240.

There is now no room to negotiate, as the emperor had always done: he augments his troops and marches to Rome, where there was a ſtrong party of Ghibelins.

Gregory IX. expoſes the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul; harangues the people in their name; inflames their minds; and profits by that moment of enthuſiaſm to make a cruſade againſt the emperor.

That prince finding it impracticable to enter Rome, goes and ravages the Beneventine. Such was the power of the popes in Europe; and the name of Cruſade was become ſo ſacred, that the Pope obtains a twentieth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in France, and a fifth in England, for his cruſade againſt the emperor.

He offers by his legates the imperial crown to Robert d'Artois, brother of St. Lewis: he ſays, in his letter to the king and baronage of France, "We have condemned Frederick, who calls himſelf Emperor, and deprived him of the empire: we have elected, in his room, prince Robert the king's brother, whom we will ſupport with all our power, and by all kinds of means."

This indiſcreet offer was refuſed. Some hiſtorians ſay, in quoting Matthew Paris, the barons of France anſwered, that it was enough for Robert d'Artois to be brother of a king who was above the emperor. They even pretend that the ambaſſadors of Lewis ſaid the ſame thing, in the ſame terms, to Frederick. But it is by no means probable that they would make ſuch an indecent, rude anſwer, ſo little

founded

founded on truth, and which could be of no ſignification.

The anſwer of the barons of France, as Matthew Paris relates it, is not more likely. The chief of thoſe barons were all the biſhops of the kingdom. Now is it very probable, that all the barons, and all the biſhops, in the time of St. Lewis, ſhould make this reply to the Pope? *Tantum religionis in Papa non invenimus, qui eum debuit promoviſſe, & Deo militantem protexiſſe, eum conatus eſt abſentem confundere & nequiter ſupplantare.* "We do not find ſo much religion in the Pope, who ought to have promoted and protected him as a ſoldier of God; whereas he hath endeavoured to confound and wickedly ſupplant him in his abſence."

A reader endowed with the leaſt ſhare of common ſenſe, will ſee that a nation in a body could not return ſuch an inſolent anſwer to the Pope who offered them the empire. How could the biſhops write to the Pope, that the unbelieving Frederick II. had more religion than his Holineſs. This particular ſhould teach us to diſtruſt thoſe hiſtorians, who erect their own private notions into public monuments.

1241.

About this time the people of Great Tartary threatened the reſt of the world. That vaſt reſervoir of brutal and warlike men had vomited its inundations over almoſt our whole hemiſphere from the fifth century of the Chriſtian æra. Part of thoſe conquerors had come and wreſted Paleſtine from the ſultan of Egypt, and the ſmall number of Chriſtians who ſtill remained in that country. More conſiderable hordes

hordes of Tartars under Batou-khan, grandſon of Gengis-khan, had been as far as Poland and Hungary.

The Hungarians, mixed with the Huns, formerly countrymen of thoſe Tartars, had been vanquiſhed by the new-comers. This torrent had ſpread in Dalmatia, and thus extended its ravages from Pekin to the frontiers of Germany. Was this a time for a Pope to excommunicate the emperor, and aſſemble a council to depoſe him?

Gregory IX. convokes that council. One can ſcarce conceive how he could propoſe to the emperor to make a total ceſſion of the empire and all his dominions to the holy ſee, as the only effectual means of a reconciliation. The Pope, nevertheleſs, makes this propoſal. What muſt have been the ſpirit of an age in which theſe propoſals were made?

1242.

The eaſtern part of Germany is delivered from the Tartars, who retreat like wild beaſts after they have ſeized their prey.

Gregory IX. and his ſucceſſor Celeſtin IV. dying almoſt in the ſame year, and the holy ſee having been long vacant, it is ſurpriſing that the emperor ſhould preſs the Romans, even at the head of an army, to elect a new Pope. One would think it was for his intereſt that the chair of his enemies ſhould not be filled; but the motives that influenced the politics of thoſe times are very little known. Certain it is, Frederick II. muſt have been a wiſe prince, ſeeing that in thoſe times of trouble Germany and his kingdom of Naples and Sicily were in tranquillity.

1243.

1243.

The cardinals aſſembled at Agnani elect cardinal Fieſque, a Genoeſe of the family of the counts of Lavagna, attached to the emperor, who ſays, "Fieſque was my friend; the Pope will be my enemy."

1244.

Fieſque, known by the name of Innocent IV. does not proceed ſo far as to demand that Frederick II. would yield the empire to him; but he demands the reſtitution of all the towns of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and of the counteſs Mathilda, and inſiſts upon the emperor's doing homage for Naples and Sicily.

1245.

Innocent IV. upon the emperor's refuſal, aſſembles at Lyons the council ſummoned by Gregory IX. This is the thirteenth general council.

It may be aſked, why this council was held in an imperial town? This town was protected by France; the archbiſhop was a prince; and in thoſe provinces the emperor had nothing elſe than the vain title of Lord Paramount.

There were but one hundred and forty biſhops at this general council, but it was adorned with the preſence of ſeveral princes, eſpecially of Baldwin de Courtenai, emperor of Conſtantinople, who was placed on the Pope's right hand. That monarch was come to aſk ſuccours, which he did not obtain.

Frederick did not neglect to ſend ambaſſadors for his defence at this council, where he was to be accuſed. Innocent IV. pronounced againſt him two long harangues in the two firſt ſeſſions. A monk of the order of Citeaux, biſhop of Carniola

Carniola near Garillan, who was expelled from the kingdom of Naples by Frederick, accuſes him in form. There is not now any regular tribunal which would admit of the accuſations alledged by that monk. "The emperor, ſays he, believes neither in God nor in the ſaints." But who had told the monk ſo? "The emperor has ſeveral wives living at one time." But who were thoſe wives? "He carries on a correſpondence with the ſultan of Babylon." But why may not the titular king of Jeruſalem treat with his neighbour? "He is of opinion with Averroes, that Jeſus Chriſt and Mahomet were impoſtors." But in what place has Averroes ſaid ſo much, and how is it proved that the emperor is of his opinion? "He is an heretic." But what is hereſy? and how can he be an heretic, if he is no Chriſtian?

Thadeus Seſſa, Frederick's ambaſſador, anſwers, that this monkiſh biſhop has told a lie, that his maſter is a very good Chriſtian, and does not tolerate ſimony. In theſe words he plainly enough accuſes the court of Rome.

The ambaſſador of England goes farther: "You draw, ſays he, by your Italians, above ſixty thouſand marks a year from the kingdom of England: you tax all our churches; you excommunicate thoſe who complain: we ſhall not long ſuffer ſuch impoſition."

All theſe remonſtrances ſerve only to haſten the Pope's ſentence: "I pronounce, ſays Innocent IV. Frederick convicted of ſacrilege and hereſy, excommunicated, and deprived of the empire. I order the electors to chooſe another emperor; and ſave to myſelf the diſpoſal of the kingdom of Sicily."

After

After having pronounced this ſentence, he thunders a Te Deum, as it is now performed after a victory.

The emperor was at Turin, which then belonged to the marquis of Suſa. He calls for the imperial crown which the emperors always carried about with them, and ſetting it upon his head, "the pope, ſays he, has not yet deprived me of this; and before he does, there will be a great deal of bloodſhed." He ſends a circular letter to all the Chriſtian princes. "I am not the firſt, ſaid he, whom the clergy have treated in ſuch an unworthy manner, and I ſhall not be the laſt. You are the cauſe of all this, in obeying thoſe hypocrites whoſe boundleſs ambition you know. What a number of infamous practices will you not diſcover at Rome, at which human nature muſt ſhudder? &c."

1246.

The pope writes to the duke of Auſtria expelled from his dominions, to the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria and Brabant, to the archbiſhops of Cologne, Triers and Mentz, and to the biſhops of Straſbourg and Spire, ordering them to elect for emperor Henry landgrave of Thuringia.

The dukes refuſe to come to the diet convoked at Wurtzbourg, and the biſhops crown their Thuringian, whom they call *the king of prieſts*.

Here are two important circumſtances to be obſerved: firſt, it is plain the electors were not ſeven in number; ſecondly, Conrad, the emperor's ſon, king of the Romans, was comprehended in the excommunication of his father, and diveſted of all his rights as an heretic, according

cording to the law of the popes and that of his own father, who had publiſhed it at a time when he wanted to ingratiate himſelf with the popes.

Conrad ſupports his father's cauſe and his own. He gives battle to the king of the prieſts near Frankfort, but is worſted.

The Landgrave of Thuringia dies in beſieging Ulm, but the imperial ſchiſm does not end.

It was probably in this year, that Frederick II. having but too many enemies, reconciles himſelf to the duke of Auſtria; and in order to attach him to his intereſt, beſtows on him and his deſcendants the title of king, by a patent ſtill preſerved at Vienna. This patent is without a date. It is very ſtrange that the dukes of Auſtria never made uſe of it. In all likelihood the princes of the empire oppoſed this new title beſtowed by an excommunicated emperor, whom one-half of Germany began to renounce.

1247.

Innocent IV. offers the empire to ſeveral princes. All refuſe ſo tempeſtuous a dignity. It is accepted by one William count of Holland, a young nobleman twenty years of age. The greateſt part of Germany does not acknowledge him; it is the pope's legate who appoints this emperor at Cologne, and inveſts him with the order of knighthood.

1248.

Two factions are formed in Germany, as violent as thoſe of the Guelphs and Ghibelins in Italy. One ſticks to Frederick and his ſon Conrad; the other adheres to the new king William. This is what the pope wanted. William is crowned at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbiſhop

biſhop of Cologne. The feſtivals that attended this coronation, are bloodſhed on every hand; and towns reduced to aſhes.

1249.

The emperor is now no more in Italy, than the chief of a faction in a civil war. His ſon Enzio whom we call Enzius, is defeated by the Poles, falls into their hands as a priſoner, and his father cannot obtain his liberty even for money.

Another fatal adventure diſturbs the laſt days of Frederick II. provided the adventure be ſuch as is related. His famous chancellor Peter de Vineis, or rather de la Vigna, his counſellor, his oracle, and friend of thirty years ſtanding, reſtorer of the laws in Italy, is ſaid to have attempted to poiſon him by the hands of his phyſician. Hiſtorians differ about the year of this event, and that difference may create ſome ſuſpicion: Is it credible that the firſt magiſtrate in Europe, a venerable old man, ſhould hatch ſuch an abominable treaſon? and for what reaſon? to pleaſe the pope, who was his enemy. Where could he hope for a more conſiderable fortune? what better poſt could the phyſician have than that of being phyſician to the emperor?

Certain it is, Peter de Vineis had his eyes put out. This is not the puniſhment of one who poiſons his maſter. Several Italian authors pretend that a court intrigue was the cauſe of his diſgrace, and provoked Frederick II. to this cruelty; and the account is very probable.

1250.

Mean-while Frederick makes another effort in Lombardy; he even orders ſome troops to

paſs the Alps, and alarms the pope, who was ſtill at Lyons, under the protection of St. Lewis; for that king of France, while he blamed the exceſſes of the pope, reſpected his perſon and his council.

This was Frederick's laſt expedition.

1251.

He dies Dec. 17. Some believe he felt remorſe for the treatment he had given to Peter de Vineis; but it appears by his will, that he repented of nothing he had done. His life and death make a very important æra in hiſtory. Of all the emperors he was the man who endeavoured moſt to eſtabliſh the empire in Italy, and who ſucceeded leaſt, poſſeſſing all the requiſites for ſucceſs.

The popes, who would have no maſters, and the towns of Lombardy, which ſo often defended their liberty againſt a maſter, prevented the poſſibility of there being a Roman emperor.

Sicily, but eſpecially Naples, was his favourite kingdom. He increaſed and embelliſhed Naples and Capua, built Alitea, Monte Leone, Flagella, Dondona, Aquila and ſeveral other towns; founded univerſities and cultivated the liberal arts in thoſe climates where the fruit ſeems to come ſpontaneous; and one circumſtance that endeared his native country to him was, that he himſelf was the legiſlator of it. In ſpite of his underſtanding, courage, application and labours, he was very unfortunate; and his death produced ſtill greater misfortunes.

CONRAD

CONRAD IV.

TWENTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

CONRAD IV. ſon of Frederick II. has a better title to be ranked among the emperors, than thoſe who are placed between the deſcendants of Charlemagne and the Othos. He had been twice crowned king of the Romans. He ſucceeded a reſpectable father; and William count of Holland, his competitor, who was likewiſe called the King of the Prieſts, as well as the Landgrave of Thuringia, had no other right than the pope's order and the ſuffrages of ſome biſhops.

Conrad at firſt ſuffers a defeat near Oppenheim, but ſtill ſupports himſelf. He forces his competitor to quit Germany. He goes to Lyons to viſit pope Innocent IV. who confirms him king of the Romans, and promiſes to give him the imperial crown at Rome.

It was become uſual to preach cruſades againſt Chriſtian princes. The pope ordered one to be preached in Germany againſt the emperor Conrad, and another in Italy, againſt Manfredo or Mainfroy, natural ſon of Frederick II. at that time faithful to his brother and the laſt will of his father.

This Mainfroy, prince of Tarentum, governed Naples and Sicily in the name of Conrad. The pope cauſed Naples and Mantua to revolt againſt him. Conrad marches thither, and ſeems to abandon Germany to his rival William, that he

he might go and ſecond his brother Mainfroy againſt the cruſards of the pope.

1252.

During that time William of Holland eſtabliſhes himſelf in Germany. We may here obſerve an adventure, which proves how long all rights continued uncertain, and all limits confounded. A counteſs of Flanders and Hainault is at war with John Davennes her ſon by a former marriage, for the right of ſucceſſion of that very ſon to his mother's lands. St. Lewis is choſen arbitrator. He adjudges Hainault to Davennes, and Flanders to the ſon of the ſecond marriage. John Davennes ſays to king Lewis, "You give me Hainault which does not depend upon you, it holds of the biſhop of Liege, and is an under fief of the empire. Flanders really holds of you, and you with-hold it from me."

It was not then decided, of what prince Hainault held. Flanders was another problem. All the country of Aloſt was fief of the empire, as well as all that bordered upon the Scheld. But the reſt of Flanders from Ghent, held of the kings of France. Mean while William as king of Germany, puts the counteſs to the ban of the empire, and confiſcates all her eſtate for the advantage of John Davennes, in the year 1252. This affair was at laſt accommodated; but it ſhews what inconveniencies attend the feodal right. It was ſtill worſe in Italy, eſpecially for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

1253, 1254.

Theſe years, which as well as the following, are called the years of interregnum, tho' pro-

ductive of confuſion and anarchy, are nevertheleſs worthy of conſideration.

The houſe of Morienne and Savoy, which eſpouſes the party of William, receives from him the inveſtiture of Turin, Montcalier, Jvrea, and ſeveral fiefs, which make it a very powerfull family.

In Germany the towns of Frankfort, Mentz, Cologne, Worms and Spire, aſſociate together for the benefit of trade, and to defend themſelves from the country gentlemen who were, ſo many robbers. This union of the towns upon the Rhine, was not ſo much an imitation of the confederacy of the towns of Lombardy, as of the firſt hans-towns, Lubec, Hamburgh, and Brunſwick.

In a little time the greateſt part of the towns of Germany and Flanders, engage in the Hans. The principal object is to maintain veſſels and barks at the common expence for the ſecurity of commerce. A bill of one of theſe towns paſſes current in all the reſt. The confidence of trade is eſtabliſhed. Merchants by means of this alliance do more ſervice to ſociety, than ever was done by ſo many emperors and popes.

The city of Lubec alone is already ſo powerful, that in a civil war which was kindled in Denmark, it equips a fleet at its own expence.

While the trading towns procure theſe temporal advantages, the knights of the Teutonic order, reſolve to procure that of Chriſtianity to the reſt of the Vandals, who lived in Pruſſia and the neighbourhood. Ottocarus II. king of Bohemia takes the croſs with them. All the kings of Bohemia took the name of Ottocarus, ſince they had eſpouſed the party of Otho IV.

They

They defeat the Pagans, and the two Pruſſian chiefs receive baptiſm. Ottocarus rebuilds Konigſberg.

Other ſcenes open in Italy. The pope ſtill maintains the war, and inſiſts upon diſpoſing of Naples and Sicily. But he cannot recover his own demeſnes, nor thoſe of the counteſs Mathilda. We always ſee the popes powerful abroad, in conſequence of the excommunications, which they thunder forth, and the diviſions they foment, but very impotent in Italy, and eſpecially in Rome.

The factions of the Ghibelins and the Guelphs divided and deſolated Italy. They had begun from the quarrels between the popes and the emperors; theſe names had been every where, a word of banter in the time of Frederick II. Thoſe who pretend to acquire fiefs and titles which were beſtowed by the emperors, declared themſelves Ghibelins. The Guelphs ſeemed more the partizans of the Italic liberty. The Guelph party at Rome was indeed for the pope, when the buſineſs was to unite againſt the emperor; but the ſame party oppoſed the pope, when the pontiff, freed from a maſter, wanted to become maſter himſelf in his turn. Theſe factions were again ſubdivided into ſeveral different parties, and ſerved to nouriſh diſcord in towns and families. Some old captains of Frederick II. employed theſe names of faction, which inflamed the minds of men, to enliſt people under their colours, and cloaked their robberies with the pretext of ſupporting the rights of the empire. Robbers of another gang pretended to ſerve the pope who gave them no ſuch commiſſion, and ravaged Italy in his name. Among thoſe robbers who rendered themſelves famous, there was

a partizan of Frederick II. called Ezzelino *, who had well nigh eſtabliſhed a great dominion, and entirely changed the face of affairs. He is ſtill famous for the ravages he committed: booty enabled him to raiſe an army; and had he been always favoured by fortune, he muſt have become a conqueror. But at laſt he was taken in an ambuſcade, and Rome which dreaded him was delivered of her fear. The Guelph and Ghibeline factions were not extinguiſhed in him. They ſubſiſted for a long time, and were very violent, even while Germany was without a real emperor, during the interregnum that ſucceeded Conrad's death, and could no longer ſerve as a pretext for theſe troubles. A pope in theſe circumſtances had a very difficult place to fill. Obliged as a biſhop to preach peace in the midſt of war, being at the head of the Roman government, without power to attain abſolute authority, under the neceſſity of defending himſelf againſt the Ghibelins, and of managing the Guelphs, and above all things, in fear of an imperial houſe that poſſeſſes Naples and Sicily; every part of his ſituation was precarious. The popes, ſince Gregory VII. had always this in common with the emperors; the title of maſters of the world, and a power that was very circumſcribed. And if we at-

* Or Eccelino de Onara. He obtained many victories for the emperor, and afterwards ſet up for himſelf. He reduced Verona and Padua, and ſeveral other cities, where he reigned with ſuch cruel deſpotiſm, that the people believed he was engendered by the Devil. The pope preached up a Cruſade againſt him, and being taken in an ambuſcade, he was conveyed to Soncino, where he died diſtracted, after having triumphed above forty years.

tentively

tentively conſider the ſubject we ſhall ſee that from the very firſt ſucceſſors of Charlemagne, the empire and the church are two problems of very difficult ſolution.

Conrad ſends for one of his brothers, to whom Frederick II. had given the duchy of Auſtria. This young prince dies, and is ſuſpected of having been poiſoned by Conrad; for at this time, the death of every prince who did not die of old age, was imputed to poiſon. Conrad IV. dies ſoon after, and Mainfroy is accuſed of having diſpatched him by the ſame means.

The emperor Conrad IV. who died in the flower of his age, left a child, that unhappy Conradin, of whom Mainfroy becomes the guardian. Pope Innocent IV. perſecutes in this infant, the memory of his fathers. Finding he cannot make himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Naples, he offers it to the king of England: he offers it to a brother of St. Lewis, but he dies in the midſt of his proſpects, even in the city of Naples, which his party had conquered. By the laſt enterprizes of Innocent IV. one would think he was a warrior. No ſuch matter. He was counted a profound divine.

1255.

After the death of Conrad IV. the laſt emperor, tho' not the laſt prince, of the houſe of Suabia, it was probable that young William of Holland who began to reign in Germany, without oppoſition, would raiſe a new imperial houſe. That feodal right which hath produced ſo many diſputes and ſo many wars, induces him to arm againſt the Frieſlanders. It was pretended that they were vaſſals of the counts of Holland, and under-vaſſals of the empire. He marches

marches againſt them, and is ſlain about the latter end of 1255, or beginning of the following year; and this is the æra of the great anarchy of Germany.

The ſame anarchy prevails in Rome, Lombardy, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

The Guelphs had been expelled from Naples by Mainfroy. The new pope Alexander IV. tho' but indifferently eſtabliſhed in Rome, reſolves like his predeceſſor, to wreſt Naples and Sicily from the excommunicated houſe of Suabia, and ſtrip at once young Conradin to whom the kingdom belonged, and Mainfroy who was his guardian.

Who could believe that Alexander cauſes a cruſade to be preached in England againſt Conradin? and that in offering the dominions of the infant to Henry III. king of England *, he borrows even in the name of that Engliſh king, money enough to raiſe an army for himſelf? What conduct is this for a pontiff to ſtrip an orphan! a legate of the pope commands this army, which is ſaid to have amounted to near fifty thouſand men. The pope's army is defeated and deſpiſed.

* He ſent his nuncio Albert into England, with an offer of the crown of Sicily to Richard earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, who declined the propoſal of engaging in an expenſive war againſt Conrad, who was his own nephew. His brother Henry was not ſo ſcrupulous. The ſame ſcheme being offered to his conſideration, in favour of his ſecond ſon Edmund, he ſubmitted to all the conditions impoſed by the pope, engaged himſelf and his realm for unlimited ſums, ſupplied him with all the money in his own exchequer, as well as with what he could extort from the Jews, who were miſerably oppreſſed, together with large ſums borrowed of his brother Richard, and the Italian merchants, at exorbitant intereſt.

Let us moreover obſerve, that pope Alexander IV. who believed himſelf ſtrong enough to conquer two kingdoms, though at the gates of Rome, dares not enter, but retires to Viterbo. Rome always reſembled thoſe imperial towns which diſpute the rights of regality with their archbiſhops; as Cologne, for example, the municipal government of which is independent of the elector. Rome continued in this precarious ſituation till the time of Alexander VI.

1256, 1257, 1258.

In Germany it is reſolved to make an emperor. The German princes then thought as the Poliſh Palatines of theſe days. They would not have a king from among their own countrymen. One faction chooſe Alphonſus X. king of Caſtile; another elects Richard, brother of Henry III. king of England. Theſe two ſend ſeverally to the Pope, deſiring their election might be confirmed: the Pope will confirm neither. Richard mean while goes to Aix-la-chapelle, where he is crowned May 17, 1257, without, however, being more obeyed in Germany on account of that ceremony.

Alphonſus of Caſtile acts as ſovereign of Germany at Toledo. Frederick III. duke of Lorrain, goes thither, and receives on his knees the inveſtiture of his duchy, together with the dignity of great Seneſchal of the emperor, on the banks of the Rhine, and the right of laying the firſt diſh on the imperial table in plenary courts.

All the hiſtorians of Germany, as the more modern, ſay, that Richard never appeared again in the empire. But this was becauſe they were not acquainted with the Chronicle of England,

wrote by Thomas Wik. That chronicle gives us to underſtand that Richard went three times to Germany, where he exerciſed the rights of emperor on more than one occaſion; that in 1263, he gave the inveſtiture of Auſtria and Stiria to one Ottocarus king of Bohemia; and that in 1269, he married the daughter of a baron called Falkemorit, with whom he returned to London. That long interregnum, then ſo much talked of, did not really ſubſiſt: altho' theſe years may be called an interregnum, becauſe Richard was ſeldom in Germany *. In thoſe times we find nothing in Germany but petty wars between petty ſovereigns.

1259.

Young Conradin was then educated in Bavaria, with his couſin the titular duke of Auſtria, of the old branch of Auſtria, which is now extinct. Mainfroy, more ambitious than loyal, tired of being regent, cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed king of Naples and Sicily.

Thus he furniſhed the Pope with a juſt handle for ſeeking his deſtruction. Alexander IV. as pontiff, had a right to excommunicate a perjured perſon, and, as lord paramount of Naples, to puniſh an uſurper. But he had no title, either as pope or paramount, to deprive the young and innocent Conradin of his inheritance.

Mainfroy, who believes himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed, treats the Pope's excommunications and enterprizes with contempt.

* Richard's elevation to the imperial throne is ſaid to have coſt him ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; a ſum altogether incredible.

Erzelin,

Erzelin, another tyrant, lays waſte the countries of Lombardy, which adhere to the Guelphs and the pontiffs. At laſt he is wounded in a battle againſt the Cremoneſe, and the earth is delivered from his ravages.

From 1260 to 1266.

While Germany is either quite deſolate, or languiſhes in anarchy; while Italy is divided into factions; England involved in civil wars; and St. Lewis, redeemed from captivity in Egypt, meditates another cruſade, which was more unfortunate, if poſſible, than the firſt; the holy ſee ſtill perſeveres in the deſign of wreſting Naples and Sicily from Mainfroy, and of ſtripping at once the guilty guardian and the innocent orphan.

Whatever pope ſits on St. Peter's chair, it is ſtill the ſame genius, and the ſame medley of greatneſs and impotence. The Romans will neither acknowledge the temporal authority of the Pope, nor be ruled by emperors. The Popes are ſcarce endured in Rome, and yet they beſtow and take away kingdoms. Rome at that time choſe one ſenator only, as protector of her liberty. Mainfroy, his ſon-in-law Peter of Arragon, and Charles duke of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis, all three caballed for this dignity, which was that of Patrician, under another name.

Urban IV. the new pontiff, offers Naples and Sicily to Charles of Anjou, but he does not chooſe to ſee him ſenator; becauſe then he would be too powerful.

He propoſes that St. Lewis ſhould equip the duke of Anjou with an armament for the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples. St. Lewis he-

ſtates. It was plainly a propoſal to rob a ward of an inheritance derived from ſo many anceſtors, who had conquered thoſe dominions from the Muſſulmans. The Pope quiets his ſcruples. Charles of Anjou accepts the donation from the Pope, and cauſes himſelf to be elected ſenator of Rome, in deſpite of the Pope.

Urban IV. being now too far engaged to retract, makes Charles of Anjou promiſe that he will in five years renounce the title of ſenator. And as that prince was obliged to take an oath to the Romans for his whole life, the Pope reconciles theſe two oaths, and abſolves him of the one, provided he will take the other.

He likewiſe obliges him to ſwear in the hands of his legate, that he will never poſſeſs the empire, together with the crown of Sicily. This was the law of the popes his predeceſſors; and this law ſhews how much they had been afraid of Frederick II.

The count of Anjou, above all things, promiſes to aſſiſt the holy ſee in recovering the patrimony which had been uſurped by a number of noblemen, together with the lands of the counteſs Mathilda. He engages to pay eight thouſand ounces of gold, as a yearly tribute; conſenting to be excommunicated if ever that payment is delayed two months: he ſwears to aboliſh all the rights which the French conquerors, and the princes of the houſe of Suabia, had enjoyed over eccleſiaſtics, and in ſo doing renounces the ſingular prerogative of Sicily.

On theſe and a great number of other conditions, he embarks at Marſeilles, with thirty gallies, and goes to Rome in June 1265, to re-

ceive the inveſtiture of Naples and Sicily, which he had bought ſo dear.

A battle fought in the plains of Beneventum, February 26, 1266, decides the whole diſpute. There Mainfroy is ſlain, and his wife, children, and treaſures, fall into the hands of the victor.

The Pope's legate, who was in the army, deprives Mainfroy's body of Chriſtian burial; a revenge both cowardly and ill-timed; which ſerved only to irritate the minds of men.

1267, 1268.

Charles of Anjou no ſooner mounts the throne of Sicily, than he is dreaded by the Pope, and hated by his ſubjects. Conſpiracies are formed againſt him. The Gibelins who divided Italy, ſend to Bavaria to ſolicit young Conradin to come and take the inheritance of his fathers. Clement IV. ſucceſſor of Urban, forbids him to come to Italy, as a ſovereign tranſmits his order to his ſubject.

Conradin, at the age of ſixteen, ſets out with his uncle the duke of Bavaria, the count of Tirol, whoſe daughter he had married, and particularly with his couſin, the young duke of Auſtria, who was no more maſter in Auſtria than Conradin was in Naples. Excommunications are not wanting. Clement IV. that he might oppoſe him the more effectually, appoints Charles of Anjou imperial vicar in Tuſcany. That illuſtrious province, which had recovered its liberty by its own ſpirit and courage, was divided into Guelphs and Gibelins, and by this appointment the Guelphs aſſumed all the authority.

Charles of Anjou, ſenator of Rome, and chief of Tuſcany, becomes ſtill more formida-

ble to the Pope. But Conradin would have been more ſo.

The hearts of all men were inclined to Conradin, and by a very ſingular deſtiny the Romans and Muſſulmans declared for him at the ſame time. On one hand, the infant Henry, brother of Alphonſus X. king of Caſtile, a true knight-errant, goes to Italy, and there cauſes himſelf to be declared ſenator of Rome, in order to ſupport the rights of Conradin; on the other hand, a king of Tunis lends them money and gallies, and all the Saracens who remained in the kingdom of Naples, take arms in his favour.

Conradin is received as emperor in the capital of Rome. His gallies anchor on the coaſt of Sicily, and there his troops are joyfully received by almoſt the whole nation. He marches from one ſucceſs to another, as far as Aquila in the Abruzo. The French knights inured to war, entirely defeat, in a pitched battle, the army of Conradin, compoſed in a hurry of different nations.

Conradin, the duke of Auſtria, and Henry of Caſtile, are made priſoners.

The hiſtorians Villani, Guadelfiero, and Fazelli, affirm that pope Clement IV. demanded of Charles of Anjou the death of Conradin. It was his laſt requeſt, and he died ſoon after. Charles orders the ſentence of death to be pronounced upon the two princes, by Robert de Bari, his prothonotary. He ſends Henry of Caſtile priſoner to Provence, which belonged to him in right of his wife.

On the 26th day of October 1268, Conradin and Frederick of Auſtria are executed in the market-

market-place of Naples, by the hand of the hangman. This is the firſt example of ſuch an outrage againſt crowned heads. Conradin, before he received the ſtroke, threw his glove among the croud, and begged that ſomebody would carry it to his couſin Peter of Arragon, Mainfroy's ſon-in-law, who would one day revenge his death. The glove was taken up by the chevalier Truchſes de Walbourg, who actually fulfilled his deſire. Since that time the houſe of Walbourg bears the arms of Conradin, which are thoſe of Suabia. The young duke of Auſtria being firſt executed, Conradin, who loved him tenderly, took up his head, which he was kiſſing when he received the fatal ſtroke.

Several noblemen were beheaded on the ſame ſcaffold. Some time after, Charles of Anjou ordered Mainfroy's widow and his remaining ſon to be put to death in priſon. What is very ſurprizing, we do not find that St. Lewis, who was brother of this Charles of Anjou, ever in the leaſt reproached the barbarian for his horrible cruelty. On the contrary, it was partly in favour of Charles that he undertook his laſt unfortunate cruſade againſt the king of Tunis, who was Conradin's protector.

1269, 1270, 1271, 1272.

The petty wars ſtill continued between the noblemen of Germany. Rodolphus, count of Habſbourg in Swiſſerland, had already ſignalized himſelf in theſe wars, and eſpecially in that which he ſupported againſt the biſhop of Baſil, in favour of the abbot of St. Gal. About this time began the treaties of hereditary confraternity between the German houſes. This is a mutual

mutual deed of the lands of one houſe to another, in caſe of ſurvivorſhip in the male line.

The firſt of theſe treaties had been made in the laſt years of Frederick II. between the houſes of Saxony and Heſſe.

The Hans-towns, during this period, augment their privileges and power. They eſtabliſh conſuls in all affairs of trade. For to what other tribunal could they at that time have had recourſe?

The ſame neceſſity which inſpired the invention of conſuls in the trading towns, was the occaſion of inſtituting Auſtregues for other towns and noblemen, who had no mind to decide their differences by the ſword. Theſe Auſtregues are either from the nobility or from the towns themſelves, choſen as umpires to determine without the expence of a law-ſuit. Theſe two eſtabliſhments, ſo lucky and ſo wiſe, were the fruits of the unfortunate times, which obliged people to have recourſe to ſuch expedients.

Germany ſtill remained without a chief, but was reſolved to have one at laſt.

Richard of England was dead. Alphonſus of Caſtile had now no party. Ottocarus III. king of Bohemia, duke of Auſtria and Stiria, was propoſed, and is ſaid to have refuſed the empire. He was then at war with Bela king of Hungary, who diſputed with him Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola. He might have conteſted Stiria, which depended upon Auſtria, but not Carinthia and Carniola, which he had actually purchaſed.

Peace is concluded. Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, remain in the poſſeſſion of Ottocarus. We cannot conceive how he who was ſo powerful

erful ſhould refuſe the empire: he who afterwards refuſed homage to the emperor. It is much more likely that they would not have him for emperor, for that very reaſon, becauſe he was too powerful.

RODOLPHUS I. OF HAPSBOURG.

Firſt Emperor of the Houſe of Auſtria.

TWENTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1273.

AT length they aſſemble at Frankfort to elect an emperor, in conſequence of letters from pope Gregory X. who threatens to appoint one. This was a new circumſtance, that a pope ſhould be ſo deſirous of having an emperor.

In this aſſembly they propoſed no prince who poſſeſſed extenſive dominions. They were too jealous of one another. The count of Tirol, who was of the number of the electors, names three perſons, a count de Goritz, lord of a ſmall country in the Frioul, and abſolutely unknown; one Bernard, as little known, who had nothing but ſome pretenſions upon the duchy of Carinthia; and Rodolphus de Hapſbourg, a celebrated captain and great marſhal of the court of Ottocarus, king of Bohemia.

The electors, being divided between theſe three competitors, refer the affair to the deciſion of Lewis the Severe, count Palatine and duke of Bavaria, the ſame who had educated and

and in vain befriended the unhappy Conradin and Frederick of Auſtria. This is the firſt example of ſuch an arbitration. Lewis of Bavaria names Rodolphus of Hapſbourg emperor.

The burgrave or conſtable of Nuremberg carries the news to Rodolphus, who, being no longer in the ſervice of the king of Bohemia, was employed in his petty wars about Baſil and Straſbourg.

Alphonſus of Caſtile and the king of Bohemia in vain proteſt againſt this election. This proteſt of Ottocarus is ſurely no proof of his having refuſed the imperial crown. Rodolphus was the ſon of Albert count of Hapſbourg in Swiſſerland. His mother was Ulrica of Ribourg *, who had ſeveral lordſhips in Alſace. He had been long ago married to Anne of Hæneberg, by whom he had four children. He was turned of fifty-five when he aſcended the imperial throne. He had one brother, colonel in the ſervice of the Milaneſe, and another a canon at Baſil; but both died before his election.

He is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, though we know not by what archbiſhop. It is reported that the imperial ſceptre, ſaid to be that uſed by Charlemagne, being miſſing, this defect of formality began to ſerve as a pretext to ſeveral noblemen who did not chooſe to take the oath. He ſeized a crucifix. "This is my ſceptre," ſaid he; and all preſent did him homage. This action of fortitude alone rendered him reſpectable, and the reſt of his conduct ſhewed him worthy of the empire.

* The annotator on Heiſs ſays his mother was Itha, daughter of the count de Bregeritz.

He

He marries his ſon Albert to a daughter of the count of Tirol, ſiſter-in-law of Conradin. By this marriage Albert ſeems to acquire the right to Alſace and Suabia, the family inheritance of the famous emperor Frederick II. Alſace was then divided among ſeveral petty lords. It was neceſſary to make war upon them. He by his prudence procures the troops of the empire, and ſubdues the whole by his valour. A prefect is appointed to govern Alſace. This is one of the moſt important æras with regard to the interior parts of Germany. The poſſeſſors of lands in Suabia and Alſace held of the imperial houſe of Suabia; but after the extinction of that houſe in the perſon of the unfortunate Conradin, they would hold of none but the empire. This is the true origin of the immediate nobility, and this is the reaſon that a greater number of this nobility is found in Suabia than in all the other provinces.

The emperor Rodolphus ſucceeds in ſubduing the gentlemen of Alſace, and creates a prefect in that province; but after him the barons of Alſace became for the moſt part free and immediate barons, as much ſovereigns in their ſmall demeſnes, as the greateſt German noblemen were in their extenſive dominions. This, through the greateſt part of Europe, was the aim of every perſon who poſſeſſed a caſtle or country houſe.

1274.

Three ambaſſadors of Rodolphus take the oath in his name to pope Gregory X. in the conſiſtory. The Pope writes to Rodolphus: "By the advice of the cardinals, we appoint you king of the Romans."

Alphonſus,

Alphonſus X. king of Caſtile, at this time renounces the empire.

1275.

Rodolphus viſits the Pope at Lauſanne: he promiſes to cauſe the marche of Ancona, and the lands of Mathilda to be reſtored: he promiſes that which he could not perform. All this country was in the hands of the towns and noblemen, who had ſeized it at the expence of the Pope and the empire. Italy was divided into twenty principalities or republics, like antient Greece, but more powerful. Venice, Genoa, and Piſa, had a greater number of ſhips than the emperor could maintain of enſigns. Florence became conſiderable, and was already the nurſe of the liberal arts.

Rodolphus firſt of all applied his attention to Germany. Ottocarus III. the powerful king of Bohemia, duke of Auſtria, Carinthia, and Carniola, refuſed to do him homage. "I owe nothing to Rodolphus, ſaid he; I have paid him his wages." He aſſociates with Bavaria.

Rodolphus ſupports the majeſty of his rank: he puts this powerful Ottocarus to the ban of the empire, together with Henry duke of Bavaria, who is leagued with him. The emperor is furniſhed with troops, and goes to avenge the rights of the German empire.

1276.

The emperor Rodolphus defeats, one after another, all thoſe who eſpouſe the party of Ottocarus, or who attempt to take the advantage of this diviſion; namely, the count de Neubourg, the count de Fribourg, the marquis of Baden, the count of Wirtemberg, and Henry duke of Bavaria.

He

He all at once finiſhes this war with the Bavarians, by giving one of his daughters in marriage to that prince's ſon, and receiving forty thouſand ounces of gold, inſtead of giving a portion with his daughter.

From thence he marches againſt Ottocarus, whom he forces to a compoſition. The king of Bohemia cedes Auſtria, Stiria, and Carniola. He conſents to do liege homage to the emperor in the iſland of Camberg, in the middle of the Danube, under a pavilion cloſe covered, that he might be ſpared a public mortification.

Ottocarus repairs to the place quite covered with gold and jewels. Rodolphus, ſuperior in his pride, receives him in the moſt coarſe and ſimple dreſs; and, in the midſt of the ceremony, the curtains of the pavilion fall back, and expoſe to the eyes of the people, and the armies who lined the banks of the Danube, the haughty Ottocarus on his knees, with his hands joined between thoſe of his conqueror, whom he had ſo often called his Steward, and to whom he now became cup-bearer. This ſtory is well vouched, though the truth of it is of very little importance.

1277.

The wife of Ottocarus, more haughty than her huſband, reproaches him ſo much for the homage he had done, and the ceſſion of his provinces, that the king of Bohemia renews the war towards Auſtria.

The emperor obtains a complete victory Auguſt 26, and Ottocarus is ſlain in the battle. The victor uſes his fortune like a legiſlator: he gives Bohemia to young Winceſlaus, the

ſon

ſon of the vanquiſhed, and the regency to the marquis of Brandenburg.

1278.

Rodolphus makes his entry into Vienna and eſtabliſhes himſelf in Auſtria. Lewis duke of Bavaria, who had more than one right to that duchy, wants to avail himſelf of that right. Rodolphus falls upon him with his victorious troops. Nothing now is able to reſiſt him; and we ſee this prince, whom the electors had called to reign in the empire, without power, become in effect the conqueror of Germany.

1279.

Though he reigns in Germany, he is far from being maſter in Italy. Pope Nicholas III. eaſily gains from him that long proceſs which ſo many pontiffs had ſupported againſt ſo many emperors. Rodolphus by a deed, dated February 15, 1279, cedes to the holy ſee the lands of the counteſs Mathilda, renounces the right of paramount, and diſavows his chancellor, who had received the homage in the courſe of this ſame year. The electors approve of this ceſſion. This prince, in abandoning the rights for which they had fought ſo long, in effect yielded nothing but the right of receiving homage from noblemen, who never did it without reluctance. This was all he could then obtain in Italy, where the empire was no more. This ceſſion muſt have been a matter of very little conſequence, ſeeing all he had in exchange was the title of Senator of Rome, and that for one year only.

The Pope at length ſucceeded in taking this vain title of Senator from Charles of Anjou, becauſe

becauſe that prince would not match his nephew with the pontiff's niece; ſaying, "Although he was called Orſini, and had red feet, his blood was not made to mingle with the blood of France."

Nicholas III. likewiſe deprives Charles of Anjou of the vicariat of the empire in Tuſcany. This vicariat was no more than a name, and indeed this name could not ſubſiſt after there was an emperor elected.

The ſituation of Rodolphus in Italy was (according to Girolamo Briani) like that of a merchant when he fails, whoſe effects are divided among other traders.

1280.

The emperor Rodolphus accommodates matters with Charles of Sicily by the marriage of one of his daughters. He gives that princeſs called Clementia to Charles Martel, the grandſon of Charles of Anjou. The new-married couple were ſtill infants.

Charles, by means of this marriage, obtains of the emperor the inveſtiture of the counties of Provence and Forcalquier.

After the death of Nicholas III. they choſe a Frenchman, called Brion, who takes the name of Martin IV. This Frenchman at firſt orders the dignity of ſenator to be reſtored to the king of Sicily, and is inclined to reinveſt him likewiſe with the vicariat of the empire in Tuſcany. Rodolphus ſeems to give himſelf very little concern about the matter: he has buſineſs enough of his own in Bohemia. That country had rebelled in conſequence of the violent conduct of the margrave of Brandenburg, who was regent; and, beſides, Rodolphus had more occaſion for money than for titles.

1281,

1281, 1282.

Theſe years are memorable for the famous conſpiracy of the Sicilian veſpers. John de Procida, a rich young gentleman of Salerno, who (and, notwithſtanding his rank, exerciſed the profeſſions of phyſic and the law) was the author of this conſpiracy, which ſeemed ſo oppoſite to his way of life. He was a Ghibelin paſſionately attached to the memory of Frederick II. and the houſe of Suabia: he had been ſeveral times in Arragon with queen Conſtance the daughter of Mainfroy: he glowed with impatience to revenge the blood which Charles of Anjou had ſpilt; but finding it impracticable to do any thing in the kingdom of Naples, reſtrained by the preſence and dread of Charles, he hatched his ſcheme in Sicily, which was governed by the provençals, who were more deteſted and leſs powerful than their maſter.

The project of Charles of Anjou was to conquer Conſtantinople. The great fruit of the cruſades of the Weſt had been to take the empire of the Greeks in 1204, and they had loſt it afterwards, together with the reſt of the conqueſts they had made upon the Muſſulmans. The rage of going to fight in Paleſtine was abated ſince the misfortunes of St. Lewis; but Conſtantinople ſeemed an eaſy prey, and Charles of Anjou thought to dethrone Michael Paleologus, who then poſſeſſed the remains of the eaſtern empire. John de Procida goes in diſguiſe to Conſtantinople, to warn Michael Paleologus, and excite him to be before-hand with Charles. Thence he haſtens to Arragon, where he has a private audience of king Peter. He received money from both theſe princes. He eaſily

eaſily finds people to engage in the conſpiracy. Peter of Arragon fits out a fleet on pretence of invading Afric, and keeps himſelf in readineſs to make a deſcent upon Sicily. Procida finds no difficulty in preparing the minds of the Sicilians.

At length, on the third day of Eaſter, 1282, at the ſound of the veſper bell, all the Provençals in the iſland are maſſacred, ſome in churches, ſome at their doors and in the public ſtreets, and ſome in their own houſes. Eight thouſand perſons are ſuppoſed to have been ſlaughtered; three, nay four times the number of men has been killed in above an hundred battles, without attracting the notice of mankind. But in this caſe the ſecret ſo long kept by a whole people, the conquerors exterminated by the conquered nation, women and children maſſacred, daughters of Sicilians with child by Provençals, ſlain by their own fathers, and penitents murdered by their confeſſors, render this event for ever famous and execrable. It is always ſaid, that the perſons murdered at thoſe Sicilian veſpers were French, becauſe Provence now belongs to France; but it was then a province of the empire, and the people maſſacred were really Imperialiſts.

This is the manner in which the revenge of Conradin and the duke of Auſtria began. Their death was occaſioned by the guilt of one man; namely, Charles of Anjou; and it was expiated by the murder of eight thouſand innocent perſons.

Peter of Arragon then lands in Sicily with his wife Conſtance. The whole nation owns him as ſovereign; and from that day Sicily remained

mained with the houſe of Arragon; but the kingdom of Naples continued with a prince of France.

The emperor gives to his two eldeſt ſons, Albert and Rodolphus, at one time the inveſtiture of Auſtria, Stiria, and Carniola, on the 27th day of December, 1282, in a diet at Augſburg, with the conſent of all the noblemen, including that of Lewis of Bavaria, who had pretenſions to Auſtria. But how could he at one time give the inveſtiture of the ſame dominions to theſe two princes? Had they any thing more than the title? Was the youngeſt to ſucceed his elder brother? or had the younger any thing but the name, while the other enjoyed the lands? or were they to poſſeſs thoſe dominions in common? Theſe are circumſtances not explained. What is inconteſtible is, that we find a number of deeds in which the two brothers are named conjunctly dukes of Auſtria, Stiria, and Carniola.

There is only one old anonymous chronicle which ſays that the emperor Rodolphus inveſted his ſon Rodolphus with Suabia*; but there is no document or charter by which it appears that young Rodolphus ever poſſeſſed Suabia: all the grants call him, as well as his brother, duke of Auſtria, Stiria, and Carniola: nevertheleſs, one hiſtorian having adopted that chronicle, all the others have followed him; and in the genealogical tables, Rodolphus is always called duke of Suabia. If he really was, how could his family have loſt that duchy?

* So it appears by Dumont's Corp-diplom. Barre menſions nothing of Rodolphus's being inveſted with Auſtria, Stiria, &c.

In the ſame diet the emperor gives Carinthia, and the marche Treviſano to his ſon-in-law the count of Tirol. The advantage he reaped from the dignity of emperor, was to provide for all the branches of his family.

1283, 1284.

Rodolphus governs the empire as well as his own family. He makes up quarrels between ſeveral noblemen and ſeveral towns.

Hiſtorians ſay that his labours had weakened him greatly; and that, when he was turned of his grand climacteric, the phyſicians adviſed him to take a young wife of fifteen to ſtrengthen his conſtitution. Theſe hiſtorians are bad philoſophers. He marries Agnes, daughter of a count of Burgundy.

In this year, 1284, Peter king of Arragon takes the prince of Salerno, ſon of Charles of Anjou, priſoner; but is not able to make himſelf maſter of Naples. The wars of Naples no longer concern the empire, until the reign of Charles V.

1285.

The Cumins, a remnant of the Tartars, lay waſte Hungary.

The emperor inveſts John Daverines with the country of Aloſt, the country of Vaſs, Zealand, and Hainault. The county of Flanders is not ſpecified in this inveſtiture: it was become inconteſtibly plain that it held of France.

1286, 1287.

To crown the glory of Rodolphus, he ought to have eſtabliſhed himſelf in Italy, as he was in Germany; but the opportunity was paſt. He would not even go to be crowned at Rome: he contented himſelf with ſelling liberty to thoſe

towns of Italy, which chose to purchase it at his hands. Florence paid forty thousand ducats of gold; Lucca, twelve thousand; Genoa and Bologna, six thousand. Almost all the other towns gave nothing, pretending they were not bound to acknowledge an emperor who was not crowned at Rome.

But in what did this gift or confirmation of liberty consist? Was it an absolute separation from the empire? There is no act of those times that expresses any such convention. This liberty consisted in the right to appoint magistrates, to govern themselves according to their own municipal laws, to coin money, and maintain troops. It was no more than a confirmation or extension of the rights obtained from Frederick Barbarossa. Italy was then independent, and as it were detached from the empire, because the emperor had little power, and was at a great distance. Time might have secured to this country the full enjoyment of liberty. Already the towns of Lombardy, and even those of Switzerland, had left off taking the oath, and insensibly retrieved their natural right of independency.

With regard to the towns of Germany, they without exception took the oath; but some were reputed *free*, such as Augsburg, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Metz; others were called *imperial*, as they paid tribute; a third sort had the name of *subject*, as those who held immediately of the princes, and mediately of the empire; and a fourth obtained the appellation of *mixed*, because, though they held of the princes, they enjoyed some imperial rights.

All

All the great imperial towns were differently governed. Nuremberg was ruled by nobles; in Straſbourg the citizens had the authority.

1288, 1289, 1290.

Rodolphus makes all his daughters ſubſervient to his intereſt: he matches a daughter he had by his firſt wife to young Winceſlaus king of Bohemia, now come of age, and makes him ſwear he will never make any pretenſions to the duchies of Auſtria and Stiria; but, by way of recompence, he confirms him in the office of great cup bearer.

The dukes of Bavaria pretended to this office of the emperor's houſe. It ſeems the quality of elector was inſeparable from that of a great officer of the crown; not that the lords of the principal fiefs had relinquiſhed their right of electing, but the great officers inſiſted upon having this right in preference to others. It was for this reaſon the dukes of Bavaria diſputed the office of grand maſter with the branch of Bavaria Palatine, tho' this laſt was the eldeſt.

A great diet at Erfort, in which the diviſion already made of Thuringia is confirmed. The Eaſtern continues in the houſe of Miſnia, which is now that of Saxony; the Weſtern remains with the houſe of Brabant, which was heir of Miſnia by the female line. This is the preſent houſe of Heſſe.

Ladiſlaus III. king of Hungary, having been ſlain by the Cuman-Tartars, who ſtill ravaged that country, the emperor, who pretends that Hungary is a fief of the empire, reſolves to beſtow that fief upon his ſon Albert, to whom he had already given Auſtria.

Pope Nicholas IV. who thinks that all kingdoms are fiefs of Rome, gives Hungary to Charles Martel, grandſon of Charles of Anjou king of Naples and Sicily: but as this Charles Martel is the emperor's ſon-in-law, and as the Hungarians will not receive the emperor's ſon as their king, for fear of being enſlaved, Rodolphus conſents that his ſon-in-law, Charles Martel, ſhall endeavour to obtain that crown of which he could not deprive him.

This is another great example of the uncertainty of the feodal right. The county of Burgundy, that is Franche Comté, pretended to hold of the kingdom of France, and in that quality had taken the oath of allegiance to Philip the Fair. Nevertheleſs, before that period, all that made part of the old kingdom of Burgundy held of the emperors.

Rodolphus makes war upon him, but this is ſoon terminated by the count's doing the homage he demanded; ſo that this count of Burgundy at one time held both of the empire and of France.

Rodolphus confers the title of Palatine of Saxony upon his ſon-in-law Albert II. duke of Saxony. We muſt take care to diſtinguiſh that houſe of Saxony from the preſent, which, as we have ſaid, is from the houſe of Miſnia.

1291.

The emperor Rodolphus dies at Germeſheim July 15th in the 73d year of his age, and in the nineteenth of his reign.

ADOL-

ADOLPHUS OF NASSAU.

TWENTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

After an Interregnum of nine Months.

1292.

THE German princes afraid of rendering hereditary that empire of Germany which was always called the Roman empire, and not agreeing in their choice, make a ſecond compromiſe, of which we have ſeen an example in the nomination of Rodolphus. The archbiſhop of Mentz to whom it was referred, names Adolphus of Naſſau on the ſame principle as that on which they had choſen his predeceſſor. He was the moſt illuſtrious warrior, and the pooreſt of that time. He ſeemed capable of maintaining the glory of the empire at the head of German armies, without being powerful enough to enſlave it. He poſſeſſed but three lordſhips in the county of Naſſau.

Albert duke of Auſtria diſguſted becauſe he did not ſucceed his father, joins againſt the new emperor with that ſame count of Burgundy who would be no longer a vaſſal of Germany, and theſe two obtain ſuccour from Philip the Fair king of France. The houſe of Auſtria begins by inviting againſt the emperor thoſe very French whom the princes of the empire hath ſince ſo often invited againſt her. Albert of Auſtria, with the aſſiſtance of France, at firſt makes war in Swiſſerland, the ſovereignty of which was claimed by his houſe. He takes Zurich with the French troops.

1293.

Albert of Auſtria excites Strasbourg and Colmar to rebel againſt Adolphus. The emperor at the head of ſome troops, furniſhed by the imperial fiefs, appeaſes theſe troubles. A difference between the count of Flanders and the citizens of Ghent is carried before the parliament of Paris, and decided in favour of the citizens. It was very clearly acknowledged that from Ghent to Boulogne, Arras and Cambray, Flanders held ſolely of the king of France.

1294.

Adolphus unites with Edward king of England againſt France; but as he dreaded ſuch a powerful vaſſal as the duke of Auſtria, he undertakes nothing. We have ſeen this alliance more than once renewed in the like circumſtances.

1295.

A ſhameful piece of injuſtice in the emperor is the firſt origin of his misfortunes and fatal end. A great example to ſovereigns. Albert of Miſnia, landgrave of Thuringia, one of the anceſtors of all the princes of Saxony, who make ſuch a great figure in Germany, ſon-in-law of the emperor Frederick II. had three children by the princeſs his wife. He had repudiated her for a miſtreſs unworthy of him, and for that reaſon the Germans had juſtly beſtowed upon him the ſirname Depraved. Having a baſtard by that concubine, he reſolved to diſinherit his three legitimate children in his favour. He ſet up his fiefs to ſale in deſpite of the laws, and the emperor in deſpite of the laws purchaſes them with the money he has received

received from the king of England to make war upon France.

The three princes boldly maintain their rights againſt the emperor. In vain does he take Dreſden and ſeveral caſtles; he is driven from Miſnia, and all Germany declares againſt ſuch ſcandalous proceedings.

1296.

The rupture between the emperor and the king of England on one ſide and France on the other, ſtill continued. Pope Boniface VIII. orders all three to agree to a truce, on pain of excommunication.

1297.

The emperor had more need of a truce with the noblemen of the empire; for all of them reſented his conduct. Winceſlaus king of Bohemia, Albert duke of Auſtria, the duke of Saxony, and the archbiſhop of Mentz aſſemble at Prague. There were two marquiſes of Brandenburg; not that both poſſeſſed the ſame marquiſate, but being brothers both took the ſame title. This practice began to be cuſtomary. The emperor is formally impeached and a diet ſummoned to meet at Egra to depoſe him.

Albert of Auſtria ſends to Rome to ſolicit the depoſition of Adolphus. This is a right which was always allowed to the pope, when it was thought it could turn to advantage. The duke of Auſtria pretends to have received the pope's conſent, which however he had not obtained. The archbiſhop of Mentz ſolemnly depoſes the emperor in the name of all the princes. Theſe are the terms in which he expreſſed himſelf. "We are told our envoys have obtained the pope's conſent; others af-

firm the pope has refuſed it: but without regarding any other authority than that with which we have been inveſted, we depoſe Adolphus from the imperial dignity, and elect lord Albert duke of Auſtria for king of the Romans."

1298.

Boniface VIII. forbids the electors on pain of excommunication to conſecrate the new king of the Romans, and they anſwer that it is by no means an affair of religion.

Mean while Adolphus, having ſome biſhops and noblemen in his party, was ſtill at the head of an army. On the ſecond day of July he gives battle to his rival near Spire; the two meet in the midſt of the engagement. Albert of Auſtria thruſts a ſword into his eye. Adolphus dies fighting and leaves the empire to Albert.

ALBERT I. OF AUSTRIA.

THIRTIETH EMPEROR.

1298.

ALBERT of Auſtria begins by referring his right to the electors the better to ſecure it. He is a ſecond time elected at Frankfort, then crowned at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbiſhop of Cologne.

Pope Boniface VIII. will not acknowledge him. This pope had at that time violent quarrels with Philip *the fair* of France.

1299.

1299.

The emperor Albert forthwith unites himſelf to Philip, and marries his eldeſt ſon Rodolphus to Blanche that king's ſiſter. The articles of this marriage are remarkable. He engages to give to his ſon Auſtria, Stiria, Carniola, Alſace, Fribourg in the Briſgau, and aſſigns Alſace and Fribourg as a jointure to his daughter in-law, referring himſelf for the portion of Blanche intirely to the good-will of the king of France.

Albert ſends an intimation of this marriage to the pope, who makes no other anſwer, but that the emperor is an uſurper, and that there is no other Cæſar but the ſovereign pontiff of the Chriſtians.

1300, 1301.

The houſes of France and Auſtria ſeemed at that time cloſely united by this marriage, by their common hatred to Boniface VIII. and by the neceſſity they were under to defend themſelves againſt their vaſſals; for at the ſame time Holland and Zealand which were vaſſals of the empire made war upon Albert, and the Flemings who were vaſſals of France had taken arms againſt Philip the Fair.

Boniface VIII. who was ſtill prouder than Gregory VII. and more impetuous, takes this opportunity to brave at once the emperor and the king of France. On one ſide he excites againſt Philip the Fair his own brother Charles of Valois on the other hand he foments a revolt of the princes of Germany againſt Albert.

No pope ever puſhed farther the madneſs of giving away kingdoms. He invites Charles of Valois into Italy, and appoints him vicar of the empire in Tuſcany. He makes a match be-

tween that prince and the daughter of Baldwin II. the depoſed emperor of Conſtantinople, and boldly declares Charles Valois emperor of the Greeks. Nothing is greater than ſuch enterprizes when they are well conducted and ſucceſsful; and nothing more mean when they are ineffectual. This pope, in leſs than three years, gave away the empires of the eaſt and weſt, and laid the kingdom of France under interdiction.

The circumſtances in which Germany was involved, had well nigh inſured his ſucceſs againſt Albert of Auſtria. He writes to the archbiſhops of Mentz, Triers and Cologne: "We command Albert to appear before us in ſix months, to clear himſelf if he can of the crime of treaſon committed againſt his ſovereign Adolphus. We forbid you to acknowledge him as king of the Romans, &c."

Thoſe three archbiſhops, who did not love Albert, agree with the count Palatine of the Rhine to proceed againſt him, as they had proceeded againſt his predeceſſor; and what ſhews that there were always two weights and two meaſures, they accuſe him of being guilty of a crime, in having defeated and ſlain in battle that very Adolphus whom they had depoſed, and againſt whom he had been armed by their own conſent and direction.

The count Palatine actually lays informations againſt the emperor Albert. It is well known that the counts Palatine were originally judges in the palace, and judges in civil cauſes between the prince and ſubject, as is the practice in all countries under different denominations.

The

The Palatines thought they had a right to judge the emperor himſelf in criminal caſes. And it is upon this pretenſion that we ſhall ſee a Palatine, and a ban of Croatia condemn a queen.

Albert, having the other princes of the empire on his ſide, anſwers theſe proceedings with war.

1302.

The judges in a very little time aſk pardon, and the elector Palatine is fain to pay a large ſum of money for his proceedings.

Poland, after a ſeries of troubles, elects for its king Wenceſlaus king of Bohemia. This prince eſtabliſhes ſome ſort of order in a country where there was never any before. It was he who inſtituted the ſenate. This Wenceſlaus gives his ſon as king to the Hungarians, who demanded himſelf.

Boniface VIII. fails not to pretend that this is an outrage againſt him, who alone has the right to give Hungary a king. He appoints to that ſtation Carobert, a deſcendant of Charles of Anjou. One would think the emperor ought not to have accuſtomed the pope to give away kingdoms; yet this is what effected his reconciliation with him. He was more afraid of the power of Wenceſlaus than of the pope. He therefore protects Carobert, and lays Bohemia waſte. Authors ſay his army was poiſoned by the Bohemians, who infected the water in the neighbourhood of the camp. But this is not a very credible circumſtance.

1303.

What effectually engages the emperor in the intereſt of Boniface VIII. is the bloody quarrel

between that pope and Philip the Fair. Boniface being mal-treated by Philip, and that very deſervedly, at length acknowledges Albert whom he proſecuted, as lawful king of the Romans, and promiſes him the imperial crown, provided he would declare war againſt the king of France.

Albert repays the pope's complaiſance with a ſtill greater piece of condeſcenſion. He acknowledges "that the empire was transferred from the Greeks to the Germans by the holy ſee; that the electors hold their right of the pope, and that emperors and kings receive from him the regal power." It was againſt ſuch a declaration as this, that the count Palatine ought to have proceeded.

It was not worth the trouble, thus to flatter Boniface VIII. who died October 12. after he had with difficulty eſcaped from the priſon in which he was detained by the king of France, at the very gates of Rome.

Mean-while the king of France confiſcates Flanders from count Gui Dampiere, and after a bloody battle remains maſter of Lile, Douay, Orchies, Bethune, and a very extenſive country, without the emperor's giving himſelf any trouble about the matter.

He no longer thinks of Italy, ſtill divided between the Guelphs and Ghibelins.

1304, 1305.

Ladiſlaus, that ſon of the reſpectable Winceſlaus king of Bohemia and Poland, is expelled from Hungary. His father (as it is pretended) died of grief for his expulſion, if kings can actually die of that diſtemper.

Otho

Otho duke of Bavaria cauſes himſelf to be elected king of Hungary, and is ſent back again the very ſame year. Ladiſlaus returns to Bohemia, where he is aſſaſſinated. Thus we ſee three elective kingdoms vacant at once, namely Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland.

The emperor Albert cauſes his ſon Rodolphus to be crowned in Bohemia by dint of arms. Carobert ſtill ſupports his pretenſions to Hungary, and a Poliſh nobleman called Uladiſlaus Locticus is elected or rather re-eſtabliſhed in Poland; but the emperor has no ſhare in the tranſaction.

1306.

Here follows a piece of injuſtice which one would not expect from a prince of ability. The emperor Adolphus of Naſſau had loſt his crown and life in conſequence of having incurred the hatred of the Germans, and this hatred was chiefly founded on his attempt to ſtrip the lawful heirs of Miſnia and Thuringia for a ſum of money.

Philip de Naſſau brother of this emperor reclaimed the countries which had been ſo unjuſtly purchaſed. Albert declares for him, in hope of obtaining a ſhare. The princes of Thuringia defend themſelves, and are without ceremony put to the ban of the empire. This proſcription furniſhes them with partizans and an army. They cut in pieces the army of the emperor, who is glad to leave them in peaceable poſſeſſion of their dominions. We generally find in the Germans a ſtrong fund of attachments to their rights; and by this alone that mixed government hath ſo long ſubſiſted;

an

an edifice often on the brink of tumbling, yet ſtill firm and well founded.

1307.

Pope Clement V. ſends a legate to Hungary, to give the crown to Carobert in the name of the holy ſee. Formerly this kingdom was in the gift of the emperors; but at this time the popes diſpoſed of it, as well as of Naples. The Hungarians choſe to be vaſſals to the unarmed popes, rather than of the emperors, who might enſlave them. But it would have been ſtill better to be vaſſals to no power whatſoever.

Origin of the LIBERTY of the Swiſs.

Swiſſerland held of the empire, and part of that country belonged to the houſe of Auſtria, as Fribourg, Lucerne, Zug and Glaris. Theſe ſmall towns, although ſubjects, had great privileges, and were ranked with the mixed towns of the empire; others were imperial, and governed by their own citizens, ſuch as Zurich, Baſil and Scaffhouſen. The cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, were under the patronage, but not the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria.

The emperor Albert wanted to be deſpotic through the whole country. The governors and commiſſaries whom he ſent thither, exerciſed a ſpecies of tyranny which at firſt produced abundance of miſery, but in the end was productive of the bleſſing of liberty.

The founders of that liberty were called Melchthal, Stauffacher, and Walter Fuſt. The difficulty of pronouncing ſuch reſpectable names, has in ſome meaſure injured their fame. Theſe

three peaſants, being men of ſenſe and reſolution, were the firſt conſpirators; each of them engaged three others; and thoſe nine brought over the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald.

All the hiſtorians alledge that while they were concerting the conſpiracy, a governor of Uri, whoſe name was Geiſler, took it in his head to exerciſe a kind of tyranny equally horrible and ridiculous. He commanded, ſay they, one of his caps to be placed upon the top of a pole erected in the market-place, and decreed that every perſon ſhould bow to the cap, on pain of death. One of the conſpirators, called William Tell, would not ſalute the cap. The governor condemned him to be hanged, and would not pardon him except upon condition that the convict, who was eſteemed an expert archer, ſhould bring down with an arrow an apple placed upon the head of his own ſon. The father ſhot in the utmoſt trepidation, and was ſo lucky as to hit the apple: Geiſler, perceiving another arrow under Tell's coat, aſked what he intended to do with it. "It was intended for thee, ſaid the Swiſs, had I wounded my ſon."

The ſtory of the apple is I own very ſuſpicious, and what follows is no leſs doubtful. But, in ſhort, it is generally believed that Tell being put in irons, afterwards killed the governor with an arrow: that this was the ſignal for the conſpirators; and that the people ſeized the fortreſſes, and demoliſhed thoſe inſtruments of their ſlavery.

1308. Albert being on the eve of venturing his forces againſt

againſt that courage inſpired by the enthuſiaſm of new-born liberty, loſes his life in a melancholy manner. His own nephew John, improperly called duke of Suabia, who could not obtain from him the enjoyment of his patrimony, conſpires his death with the help of ſome accomplices. He himſelf gives the emperor the fatal ſtab, while he was walking with him near Rheinsfeldt upon the banks of the river Ruſs in the neighbourhood of Switzerland. Few ſovereigns have died a more tragical death, and none was ever leſs regretted. In all probability the deed by which Auſtria, Stiria, and Carniola were conveyed by the emperor Rodolphus of Hapſbourg to his two ſons, was the cauſe of this aſſociation. John, ſon of prince Rodolphus, having in vain demanded his ſhare, which was detained by his uncle Albert, reſolved to obtain poſſeſſion by committing the crime of high treaſon.

HENRY VII.

Of the houſe of Luxemburg.

THIRTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

1308.

AFTER the murder of Albert, the throne of Germany continued vacant for ſeven months. Among the pretenders to this throne, we reckon Philip the Fair, king of France; but there is no monument of the hiſtory of France, that

that makes the leaſt mention of this circumſtance.

Charles de Valois, that monarch's brother, enters the liſts of competition. He was a prince who went every where in queſt of kingdoms. He had received the crown of Arragon from the hands of pope Martin IV. and done him homage, and taken the oath of fidelity which the Popes exact from the kings of Arragon; but all he had was a vain title. Boniface VIII. had promiſed to make him king of the Romans, but could not keep his word.

Bertrand de Got, a Gaſcoon, archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, being raiſed to the pontificate of Rome by the protection of Philip the Fair, promiſes the imperial crown to that prince. The Popes could do a great deal at this period, in ſpite of their impotence, becauſe their refuſing to acknowledge a king of the Romans elected in Germany, was often a pretext for faction and civil war.

This pope Clement V. acts in diametrical oppoſition to his promiſe. He underhand preſſes the electors to chooſe Henry count of Luxemburg.

That prince is the firſt who was choſen by ſix electors only, all the ſix great officers of the crown; the archbiſhops of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, as chancellors; the count palatine, of the preſent houſe of Bavaria, as grand maſter of the houſhold; the duke of Saxony, of the houſe of Aſcania, as great maſter of the horſe; and the marquis of Brandenburg, of the ſame houſe of Aſcania, as great chamberlain.

The king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, was not preſent, nor did any perſon repreſent him.

him by proxy. The kingdom of Bohemia was then vacant; for the Bohemians would not acknowledge the duke of Carinthia, whom they had elected, but made war upon him as a tyrant.

It was the count palatine, who, in the name of the six electors, nominated "Henry count of Luxemburg, king of the Romans, future emperor, protector of the Roman Catholic church, and defender of widows and orphans."

1309.

Henry VII. begins by revenging the assassination of the emperor Albert. He puts the murderer John, the pretended duke of Suabia, to the ban of the empire. Frederick and Leopold of Austria, his cousins, descended like him from Rodolphus of Hapsburg, execute the sentence, and receive the investiture of his domains.

One of the assassins, called Rodolphus de Warth, a considerable nobleman, is taken, and with him begins the custom of breaking on the wheel. As for John, after having wandered a long time from place to place, he obtains the Pope's absolution, and turns monk.

The emperor confers upon his son of Luxemburg the title of duke, without, however, erecting Luxemburg into a duchy. There were dukes by breviate, as we now see them in France, but they were all princes. We have already seen that the emperors created kings by breviate.

The emperor, with a view to establish his family, causes his son John of Luxemburg to be elected king of Bohemia. There was a necessity for conquering it from the duke of Carinthia;

thia; and this was no difficult taſk, as the whole nation was againſt the ſaid duke *.

All the Jews are expelled from Germany, and great part of them ſtripped of their effects. That people, devoted to uſury every ſince it had been known, having always exerciſed that profeſſion at Babylon, Alexandria, Rome, and through all Europe, had every where rendered themſelves equally neceſſary and execrable. There was ſcarce a town in which the Jews were not accuſed of ſacrificing a child on Friday, and ſtabbing the hoſt. Proceſſions are ſtill made in ſeveral towns, in remembrance of the hoſts which have been ſtabbed and ſhed blood. Theſe ridiculous impeachments ſerved as pretexts to ſtrip them of their wealth.

1310.

The order of Templars is treated more cruelly than the Jews. This is one of the moſt incomprehenſible events. Knights who made a vow to fight for Jeſus Chriſt, are accuſed of renouncing him, adoring a copper head, and of committing the moſt horrible debauches by way

* Having expelled this duke, he confirmed his ſon in poſſeſſion of the throne, by marrying him to the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Winceſlaus, late king of Bohemia, by a daughter of the emperor Rodolphus. This marriage was for ſome time poſtponed, in conſequence of a report ſpread to the prejudice of the young lady's virtue. She no ſooner underſtood the cauſe of the delay, than repairing to the emperor's anti-chamber, ſhe undreſſed herſelf to the ſhift, in preſence of the ladies there aſſembled, and approaching Henry, demanded that ſhe might be examined immediately by matrons. She was accordingly committed to the care of ſome ladies and midwives, who unanimouſly declared her an unſpotted virgin; and, in conſequence of their teſtimony, the nuptials were ſolemnized with great magnificence.

of

of ſecret ceremonies at their reception into the order. In France they are condemned to the ſtake, in conſequence of a bull of pope Clement V. and of their great poſſeſſions. Molai Gui, brother of the dauphin d'Auvergne, great maſter of the order, and ſeventy-four knights, in vain make oath that the order is innocent of the charge. Philip the Fair, incenſed againſt them, cauſes them to be found guilty; they are condemned by the Pope, who is devoted to the king of France, and fifty-nine are burnt in Paris. They are perſecuted every where. Two years after this event the Pope aboliſhes the order; but in Germany nothing is done to their prejudice; perhaps becauſe they were too much perſecuted in France. In all probability, the debauchery of ſome young knights had given occaſion to calumniate the whole order.

Henry VII. reſolves to re-eſtabliſh the empire in Italy.

No emperor had been there ſince Frederick II.

A diet is held at Frankfort, in order to eſtabliſh John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, vicar of the empire, and to provide for the emperor's journey. This journey is well known by the name of The Roman expedition. Every ſtate of the empire contributes a certain ſum to furniſh ſoldiers, horſemen, or money.

The emperor's commiſſaries, by whom he is preceded, take the uſual oath to the Pope's commiſſaries at Lauſanne, on the 11th of October. An oath always conſidered by the Popes as an act of homage and obedience; and by the emperors, as a promiſe of protection; but the words

words of it were favourable to the pretenſions of the Popes.

1311.

Italy is ſtill divided by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins. But theſe factions had no longer the ſame aim as heretofore; they no longer fought for the emperor and pope: it was a word of reproach, to which there was no preciſe idea affixed. We have ſeen an example of the ſame kind, in the factions of the whigs and tories of England.

Pope Clement V. fled from Rome, where he had no power, and ſettled his court at Lions, with his miſtreſs the counteſs of Perigord, where he amaſſed money to the utmoſt of his power.

Rome was in the anarchy of popular government. The Colonnas, the Urſini, and the Roman barons, divide the city, and this diviſion is the cauſe of the long abode of the popes upon the banks of the Rhone; ſo that Rome ſeemed equally loſt to the popes and the emperors.

Sicily remained with the houſe of Arragon. Carobert, king of Hungary, diſputed the kingdom of Naples with his uncle Robert, ſon of Charles II. of the houſe of Anjou.

The houſe of Eſte had eſtabliſhed itſelf at Ferrara; and the Venetians wanted to make themſelves maſters of that country.

The old league of the Italian towns was far from ſubſiſting. It had been made with no other view but to oppoſe the emperors. But ſince theſe had left off coming to Italy, the towns were wholly employed in aggrandizing themſelves at the expence of one another. The Florentines and Genoeſe made war upon the republic

republic of Piſa. Beſides, every town was divided into factions within itſelf: Florence, between the blacks and the whites; and Milan between the Viſconti and the Turriani.

It was in the midſt of theſe troubles that Henry VII. at length appears in Italy. He cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of Lombardy at Milan. The Guelphs conceal the old iron crown of the Lombard kings, as if the right of reigning were attached to a ſmall iron circlet. The emperor orders a new crown to be made.

The Turriani and the emperor's own chancellor * conſpire againſt his life in Milan. He condemns his chancellor to the flames. Moſt of the towns of Lombardy, ſuch as Crema, Cremona, Lodi, and Breſcia, refuſe to obey him; he ſubdues them by force, and there is abundance of blood ſhed.

He marches to Rome. Robert, king of Naples, in concert with the Pope, ſhuts the gates againſt him, ordering his brother John, prince of Morea, to march towards Rome with the men of arms and the infantry.

Several towns, namely Florence, Bologna, and Lucca, privately aſſociate with Robert. In the mean time, the Pope writes from Lions to the emperor, that he wiſhes for nothing ſo much as his coronation; and the king of Naples makes the ſame profeſſion, aſſuring him that the prince of Morea is at Rome for no other purpoſe than to eſtabliſh order in the city. Henry VII. preſents himſelf at the gate of the

* Who was of the houſe of the Turriani, a Guelph by inclination, and had engaged in the emperor's ſervice on purpoſe to betray him.

city

city Leonini, which contains the church of St. Peter; but he is obliged to beſiege it before he can enter. He is defeated, inſtead of being crowned. He negotiates with another part of the city, and deſires he may be crowned in the church of St. John de Lateran. The cardinals oppoſe his demand, ſaying it cannot be done without the permiſſion of the Pope.

The people of that diſtrict eſpouſe the emperor's cauſe; and he is crowned in a tumult by ſome cardinals. Then he orders the lawyers to diſcuſs the queſtion, "Whether or not the Pope can command the emperor in any caſe? and whether the kingdom of Naples holds of the empire or of the holy ſee?" His lawyers fail not to decide in his favour, and the Pope takes care to have a contrary deciſion by the lawyers of his own party.

1313.

We have already ſeen, that it is the deſtiny of the emperors to want force ſufficient to maintain their dominion at Rome. Henry VII. is obliged to quit that city. He in vain beſieges Florence, and as vainly ſummons Robert, king of Naples, to appear before him; and no leſs vainly does he put that king to the ban of the empire, as a perſon guilty of treaſon: "Baniſhing him for ever on pain of loſing his head." This decree is dated April 25.

He iſſues decrees of the ſame nature againſt Florence and Lucca, permitting the inhabitants to be murdered. Winceſlaus, in his madneſs, would not have publiſhed ſuch reſcripts. He orders his brother, the archbiſhop of Triers, to levy troops in Germany. He obtains fifty gallies from the Genoeſe and the Piſans. There

is

is a conſpiracy at Naples in his favour. He entertains the notion of conquering Naples and afterwards Rome; but when ready to depart, he dies near the town of Sienna.

The decree againſt the Florentines was an invitation to take him off by poiſon. A Dominican, called Politian de Montepulciano, who gave him the ſacrament, is ſaid to have mixed poiſon in the conſecrated wine. It is difficult to prove ſuch crimes. But the Dominicans did not obtain of his ſon John, king of Bohemia, letters patent declaring their innocence, until thirty years after the emperor's death. It would have been more prudent to have obtained thoſe letters at the very time when people began to accuſe them of this ſacrilegious murder.

An INTERREGNUM of Fourteen Months.

In the laſt years of Henry VII. the Teutonic order aggrandized itſelf, and made conqueſts upon the idolaters and Chriſtians who inhabited the coaſt of the Baltic. They even made themſelves maſters of Dantzick, which they afterwards gave up. They purchaſed the country of Pruſſia, called Pomerania, from a margrave of Brandenburg, in whoſe poſſeſſion it was. While the Teutonic knights became conquerors, the Templars were deſtroyed in Germany, as in other countries; and though they ſupported themſelves ſome years longer towards the Rhine, their order was at laſt entirely aboliſhed.

1314.

Pope Clement V. condemns the memory of Henry VII. and declares the oath which that emperor had taken at his coronation to be an

oath

oath of fidelity, conſequently the act of a vaſſal doing homage.

He diſſolves the ſentence which Henry VII. had pronounced againſt the king of Naples, "Becauſe, ſays he juſtly, king Robert is our vaſſal."

But the Pope adds very aſtoniſhing clauſes to this reaſon: "We have, ſaid he, the ſuperiority of the empire, and we ſucceed to the emperor during a vacancy, by the full power we have received from Jeſus Chriſt."

By virtue of that pretenſion the Pope created Robert king of Naples vicar of the empire in Italy. Thus the Popes, who feared nothing ſo much as an emperor, were themſelves aiding and aſſiſting in perpetuating that dignity, by acknowledging that a vicar was wanted during an interregnum. But they nominated this vicar in order to veſt themſelves with the right of appointing an emperor.

The electors are long divided in Germany. It was already an eſtabliſhed opinion that the right of voting belonged ſolely to the great officers of the houſhold, namely the three eccleſiaſtical chancellors, and the four ſecular princes. Theſe officers had long poſſeſſed the chief influence. They declared the nomination by the majority of votes; and gradually arrogated to themſelves the ſole right of electing.

This is ſo true, that Henry duke of Carinthia, who aſſumed the title of king of Bohemia, diſputed, in that quality alone, the right of elector with John of Luxemburg, ſon of Henry VII. who was in effect king of Bohemia.

John and Rodolphus, dukes of Saxony, who had each a part of that province, pretended to

ſhare the rights of elector, and even to be both electors, becauſe both took the appellation of grand-marſhal.

Lewis, duke of Bavaria, the ſame who was emperor, head of the Bavarian branch, wanted to ſhare the right of voting with his eldeſt brother, Rodolphus count palatine.

In that caſe, there would have been ten electors, who repreſented ſeven officers holding the ſeven principal poſts of the empire. Of theſe ten electors, five name Lewis, duke of Bavaria, who adding his own vote, is thus elected by a majority of one.

The other four choſe Frederick, duke of Auſtria, ſon of the emperor Albert; and this duke of Auſtria did not reckon his own vote; an evident proof that Auſtria, as it did not furniſh a great officer, had no right of voting.

LEWIS V.

OR,

LEWIS OF BAVARIA.

THIRTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1315.

LEWIS of Bavaria is reckoned emperor, becauſe he was elected by the majority, but chiefly, becauſe his rival, Frederick the Fine, was unfortunate.

Frederick is conſecrated at Cologne, by the archbiſhop of that place; and Lewis at Aix-la-chapelle,

chapelle, by the archbiſhop of Mentz, who arrogates that privilege to himſelf, although the archbiſhop of Cologne is metropolitan of Aix.

Theſe two conſecrated competitors neceſſarily produce civil wars; and this is the more ſo, becauſe Lewis of Bavaria was uncle to his rival Frederick. Some of the Swiſs cantons already confederated take arms in favour of Lewis of Bavaria; and by theſe means defend their liberty againſt the houſe of Auſtria.

The memorable BATTLE of Mortgat.

If the Swiſs had poſſeſſed the eloquence, as they did the courage of the Athenians, this day would have been as famous as that of Thermopylæ. Sixteen hundred Swiſs, from the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, defeat a formidable army belonging to the duke of Auſtria, at the paſſage of the mountains. The field of the battle of Mortgat is the true cradle of their liberty.

1316.

Pope John XXII. reſiding at Avignon and Lions, like his two predeceſſors, tho' he durſt not ſet foot in Italy, but was obliged to abandon Rome, nevertheleſs declares that the empire depends upon the Roman church, and ſummons the two pretenders to his tribunal. There had been greater revolutions on the face of the earth, but none more ſingular in the mind of man, than to ſee the ſucceſſors of the Cæſars, who were created on the banks of the Maine, ſubmit the rights which they had not over Rome to a pontiff of Rome created at Avignon. While the kings of Germany pretend to have the right of beſtowing the kingdoms of Europe, the popes pretend to nominate emperors and

kings, and the Roman people reject both emperor and pope.

1317.

We muſt imagine that Italy was now as much divided as Germany. It was ſtill torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibelins. The Guelphs, with Robert king of Naples at their head, adhere to Frederick of Auſtria; the Ghibelins were on the ſide of Lewis. The chiefs of this faction are the Viſcomtis of Milan. This houſe eſtabliſhed its own power under the pretext of maintaining that of the emperors. France already intermeddled, though feebly, in the affairs of the Milaneſe.

1318.

War between Erick, king of Denmark, and Waldemar, margrave of Brandenburg, who alone ſupports the war, unaſſiſted by any prince of the empire. When a weak ſtate holds out againſt a ſtronger, we may be aſſured it is governed by a ſuperior man.

In the courſe of this ſhort quarrel, which was ſoon accommodated, the duke of Lawemburg is made priſoner by the margrave, and redeems himſelf for ſixteen thouſand marks of ſilver. From theſe ranſoms we may nearly gueſs the quantity of ſpecie which then circulated in thoſe countries, where the princes had every thing, and the people almoſt nothing.

1319.

The two emperors conſent to decide their moſt important quarrel by thirty champions. An old cuſtom, which chivalry hath ſometimes renewed.

This combat of fifteen againſt fifteen, fighting man to man, was like that of the Greek and

and Trojan heroes. It decided nothing *, and was only a prelude to the battle which was fought by the two armies after they had been ſpectators of the combat of thirty. Lewis is conqueror in this battle, but his victory is not deciſive.

1320, 1321.

Philip of Valois, nephew of Philip the Fair, king of France, accepts of pope John XXII. the quality of lieutenant-general of the church againſt the Ghibelins in Italy. Philip of Valois goes thither in hope of eſtabliſhing ſome party among ſo many diviſions. The Viſcomtis find means to make him repaſs the Alps, by ſometimes famiſhing his little army, and ſometimes having recourſe to negotiation.

Italy continues divided between Guelphs and Ghibelins, without engaging heartily either for Frederick of Auſtria, or Lewis of Bavaria.

1322.

Another battle, which proved deciſive, is fought between the two emperors near Muldorf †, Sept. 28, 1322. The duke of Auſtria is taken, together with his brother Henry, and Ferri, duke of Lorrain. From that day there was but one emperor.

Leopold of Auſtria, brother of the two priſoners, in vain continues the war.

* They fought with ſuch fury that in a little time they were all ſlain. The battle was fought near Muldorf.

† This ſecond battle near Muldorf was fought in the plain of Vechivis, and is commonly diſtinguiſhed by that name. Frederick is ſaid to have killed fifty men with his own hand; and to have continued fighting until he was quite abandoned by his followers.

John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, tired of the contradictions he daily underwent in his own country, ſends his ſon to be educated in France, at the court of king Charles the Fair. He exchanges his crown with the emperor for the palatinate of the Rhine. The circumſtance ſeems incredible. The poſſeſſor of the palatinate of the Rhine was Rodolphus of Bavaria, the emperor's own brother. This Rodolphus had embraced the party of Frederick of Auſtria againſt his brother, and the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, who had made himſelf maſter of the palatinate, gains Bohemia by the bargain.

It is not in every country that men may be bought and ſold like cattle. The whole nobleſſe of Bohemia riſe as one man againſt this agreement, which they declare void and injurious, and accordingly it was of no effect; but Rodolphus was left deprived of his palatinate.

1323.

An event ſtill more extraordinary happens in Brandenburg. The margrave of that country deſcended from the antient houſe of Aſcania, quits his margraviate to go in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving his dominions to his brother, who dies in four-and-twenty days after the pilgrim's departure. There was a number of relations capable of ſucceeding. The antient houſe of Saxe-Lawemburg, and that of Anhalt, had pretenſions. The emperor, in order to make all the competitors agree, and without waiting for news of the true poſſeſſor's pilgrimage, reſolved to appropriate to his own family the dominions of Brandenburg, with which he accordingly inveſts his own ſon Lewis.

The

The emperor takes for his ſecond wife the daughter of the count of Hainault and Holland, who brings him by way of dower theſe two provinces, together with Zealand and Frieſland. No ſtate near the Low Countries was looked upon as a maſculine fief. The emperors did not forget their own houſes while they provided for the good of the empire.

The emperor having vanquiſhed his competitor, has the Pope ſtill to conquer. John XXII. from the banks of the Rhone, did not fail to influence a great part of Italy, and animate the faction of the Guelphs againſt the Ghibelins. He declares the Viſcomtis heretics, and as the emperor favours the Viſcomtis, declares the emperor a favourer of heretics; nay, by a bull dated October 9, he orders Lewis of Bavaria to reſign in three months the adminiſtration of the empire, "for having aſſumed the title of king of the Romans, without waiting until the Pope had examined his election." The emperor contents himſelf with proteſting againſt this bull. As yet he could do no better.

1324.

Lewis of Bavaria ſupports the remainder of the war againſt the houſe of Auſtria while he is attacked by the Pope.

John XXII. by a new bull dated July 15, declares the emperor *contumacious*, and deprives him of all right to the empire, if he does not appear before his holineſs by the firſt of October. Lewis of Bavaria publiſhes a reſcript, inviting the church to depoſe the Pope, and appeals to a future council.

Marcilius of Padua and John de Gent, a Franciſcan, come and offer their pens to the

emperor againſt the Pope, pretending to prove the holy father an heretic. He actually had very ſingular opinions, which he was obliged to retract.

1325.

When we thus ſee the Popes, who are not poſſeſſed even of one town, talk dictatorially to emperors, we may eaſily gueſs that their ſole aim is to take the advantage of popular prejudice, and the intereſts of princes. The houſe of Auſtria had ſtill a party in Germany, although the head of it was in priſon; and it is only at the head of a party that a bull can be dangerous.

Alſace, for example, and the county of Meſſin, held for that houſe. The emperor made an alliance with his priſoner, the duke of Lorrain, the archbiſhop of Triers, and the count de Bar, in order to take Metz. This city was actually taken, and paid about forty thouſand livres tournois to its conquerors.

Frederick of Auſtria being ſtill in priſon, the Pope reſolves to give the empire to Charles the Fair, king of France. It would have been natural for a Pope to name an emperor in Italy. It was thus they proceeded with regard to Charlemagne; but long cuſtom prevailed, and it was neceſſary that Germany ſhould make the election. Some German princes are gained over to the intereſt of the king of France, who were to meet him at Bar-ſur-aube. The king of France goes thither, and finds nobody but Leopold of Auſtria.

The king of France goes home again, very much chagrined at his own miſconduct. Leopold of Auſtria, finding himſelf without reſource,

ſource, ſends the lance, ſword, and crown of Charlemagne, to Lewis of Bavaria. Public opinion ſtill attached to theſe ſymbols a certain right which confirmed that of election.

Lewis of Bavaria at length releaſes his priſoner, and makes him ſign a renunciation of the empire for the life of Lewis. It is pretended that Frederick of Auſtria ſtill preſerved the title of king of the Romans.

1326.

Leopold of Auſtria dies. It muſt be obſerved, that, in ſpite of the laws, the conſtant cuſtom was, that the great fiefs ſhould ſtill be divided among the heirs. Thirty children would have divided the ſame eſtate into thirty parts, and all of them bore the ſame title. All the male deſcendants of Rodolphus of Hapſbourg bore the name of dukes of Auſtria.

Leopold had enjoyed for his ſhare, Alſace, Swiſſerland, Suabia, and the Briſgau. His brothers diſputed this inheritance with one another; and at length choſe John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, for auſtregue or arbiter.

1327.

At length Lewis of Bavaria goes to Italy, in order to head the Ghibelins, and the Pope from afar animates the Guelphs againſt him. The old quarrel between the empire and papacy is renewed with great fury.

Lewis marches at the head of a ſmall army to Milan, and is accompanied by a croud of Franciſcan friars. Theſe monks were excommunicated by pope John XXII. for having maintained that their cowl ought to be more pointed, and that their victuals and drink did not peculiarly belong to them.

The ſame Franciſcans treated the pope as a damned heretic, for his opinion touching the ebatific viſion.

The emperor is crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, not by the archbiſhop, who refuſes to perform the ceremony, but by the biſhop of Arezzo.

As ſoon as that prince prepares for going to Rome, the faction of the Guelphs preſs the Pope to return to that city. But his holineſs dares not go thither, ſo much is he afraid of the Ghibelin party, and the emperor.

The Piſans offer the emperor ſixty thouſand livres, provided he will not paſs through their city in his march to Rome. Lewis of Bavaria beſieges Piſa, and at the end of three days compels them to give him an addition of thirty thouſand livres, to ſtay there no longer than two months. Hiſtorians ſay, they were livres of gold; but in that caſe the whole would have been equal to ſix millions of German crowns, a ſum more eaſily produced in writing, than in actual payment.

A new bull is publiſhed by John XXII. dated at Avignon, Oct. 23. "We reprobate the ſaid Lewis as an heretic. We ſtrip the ſaid Lewis of all his eſtate, moveable and immoveable, of the palatinate of the Rhine, and of all right to the empire; and we forbid all perſons whatever to ſupply the ſaid Lewis with corn, linen, wine, wood, &c."

The emperor's hereſy conſiſted in his going to Rome.

1328.

Lewis of Bavaria is crowned at Rome, without taking the oath of fidelity. The famous Caſtruccio

Caſtruccio Caſtracani, tyrant of Lucca, at firſt created by the emperor count of the palace of the Lateran, and governor of Rome, conducts him to St. Peter's with the four chief Roman barons, Colonna, Urſini, Savelli, and Conti.

Lewis is conſecrated by a biſhop of Venice, aſſiſted by a biſhop of Aleria, both excommunicated by the Pope. There was little diſturbance in Rome at this coronation.

April 18, the emperor holds a general aſſembly, where he preſides, cloathed with the imperial mantle, the crown upon his head, and the ſceptre in his hand. One Nicholas Fabriano, an Auguſtin monk, there accuſes the Pope, and aſks, "If any one preſent has a mind to defend the prieſt of Cahors, who calls himſelf pope John." The order of Auguſtins was doomed to produce one day a man much more dangerous to the Popes *.

Then the ſentence was read, by which the emperor depoſes the Pope. "We will, ſays he, follow the example of Otho I. who, with the clergy and people of Rome, depoſed pope John XII. &c. We depoſe from the ſee of Rome James de Cahors, convicted of hereſy and treaſon, &c."

Young Colonna, ſecretly attached to the Pope, publiſhes his oppoſition in Rome, by fixing it to the church-door, and betakes himſelf to flight.

At length Lewis pronounces ſentence of death upon the Pope, and even upon the king of Naples, who had accepted of the Pope the vicariate of the empire in Italy. He condemns both to

* Namely, Martin Luther.

be burnt alive. Extravagant reſentment often becomes ridiculous. May 22, he by his own authority elevates to the papal chair Peter Reinalucci, of the town of Corbiero, or Corbario, a Dominican, and makes the Roman people agree to his exaltation. Inſtead of kiſſing his feet, he inveſts him by the ring, and cauſes himſelf to be crowned again by this new pontiff.

That which happens to all the emperors ſince the Othos, happened to Lewis of Bavaria. The Romans conſpire againſt him. The king of Naples arrives with troops at the gates of Rome. The emperor and his pope are obliged to fly with precipitation.

1329.

The emperor takes ſhelter in Piſa, which, however, he is obliged to quit. He returns without an army to Bavaria, accompanied by two Franciſcans, called Michael de Ceſena and William of Ockam, who wrote againſt the Pope. The antipope, Peter de Corbiero, ſculks from town to town.

Robert, king of Naples, reduces Rome, and ſeveral cities of Italy, under the domination, or rather the protection of the Pope.

The Viſcomtis, who are ſtill powerful in Milan, abandon the emperor, who can no longer protect them, and eſpouſe the party of John XXII. who, though ſtill a refugee at Avignon, ſeems to give laws to Europe, and actually gives them, when theſe laws are executed by the ſtrong againſt the weak.

Lewis of Bavaria, while at Pavia, makes a memorable treaty with his nephew Robert, ſon of Rodolphus, elector palatine, who died an exile

exile in England, and from whom the whole palatine branch is deſcended. By this treaty he divides with his nephew the lands of the palatine houſe; he reſtores to him the palatinate of the Rhine, and the High Palatinate, and keeps Bavaria for himſelf. He ſtipulates that after the extinction of one of the houſes of Palatine and Bavaria, which come from the ſame common ſtock, the ſurvivor ſhall enter into poſſeſſion of all the lands and dignities of the other; and in the mean time the vote in the election of emperors ſhall belong alternately to the two houſes. The right of voting, thus granted to the houſe of Bavaria, was not of long duration; but the quarrel occaſioned by this agreement between the two houſes was of longer continuance.

1330.

Pope Peter of Corbiero, concealed in a caſtle of Italy, and ſurrounded by ſoldiers ſent thither by the archbiſhop of Piſa, begs pardon of John XXII. who promiſes to ſpare his life, and give him a penſion of three thouſand florins of gold for his ſubſiſtence.

This pope friar Peter goes, with a rope about his neck, and preſents himſelf before the Pope, who ſends him to priſon, where he dies in leſs than three years. It is not known whether or not he had ſtipulated that he ſhould not be impriſoned.

Chriſtopher, king of Denmark, is depoſed by the ſtates of the country, and has recourſe to the empire. The dukes of Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, are appointed by the emperor, to try and decide this cauſe between that prince and his ſubjects.

This

This was a revival of the emperor's right over Denmark, which had been extinct. But Gerard, count of Holſtein, regent of the kingdom, would not acknowledge the commiſſion. King Chriſtopher, with the forces of thoſe princes, and the aſſiſtance of the margrave of Brandenburg, expels the regent, and reaſcends the throne.

Lewis of Bavaria wants to be reconciled to the Pope, and ſends an embaſſy to him for that purpoſe. John XXII. by way of anſwer, commands the king of Bohemia to dethrone the emperor.

1331.

John, king of Bohemia, inſtead of obeying the Pope, joins the emperor, and marches to Italy with an army, as vicar of the empire. Having reduced Cremona, Parma, Pavia, and Modena, he is tempted to keep them for himſelf, and with this view unites himſelf privately with the Pope. The Guelphs and Ghibelins, alarmed at this union, join againſt John XXII. and John, king of Bohemia.

The emperor, dreading ſuch a dangerous vicar, excites againſt him Otho of Auſtria, brother of that very Frederick who was his rival for the empire; ſo much are intereſts varied in a little time.

He inſtigates the marquis of Miſnia, and Carobert king of Hungary, and even Poland itſelf. A plain proof that he could then do very little of himſelf. The empire was ſeldom weaker than at this very period. But Germany, in the midſt of all theſe troubles, is ſtill reſpected by ſtrangers, and ſtill uninvaded.

The

The king of Bohemia, on his return to Germany, defeats all his enemies, one after another. He leaves his ſon Charles vicar in Italy, in ſpite of Lewis of Bavaria, and he himſelf marches into Poland. John, king of Bohemia, was then the real emperor, by means of his power.

The Guelphs and Ghibelins, notwithſtanding their mutual antipathy, join in Italy againſt prince Charles of Bohemia. The king his father being victor in Germany, paſſes the Alps to ſupport his ſon. He arrives juſt when that prince had obtained a ſignal victory near Tirol, Nov. 25.

He re-enters Prague in triumph with his ſon, and gives him the march, or marquiſate, or margraviate of Moravia, for which he exacts liege homage.

1332.

The Pope continues to employ religion for the ſucceſs of his intrigues. Otho, duke of Auſtria, gained over by him, quits the emperor's party, and being cajoled by the monks, ſubmits his dominions to the holy ſee, declaring himſelf a vaſſal of Rome. What a conjuncture was this, when ſuch an action was neither puniſhed nor abhorred!

This was indeed a time of anarchy. The king of Bohemia renders himſelf formidable to the emperor, and endeavours to eſtabliſh his credit in Germany. He and his ſon had obtained victories in Italy, but they were not at all deciſive. All Italy was in arms. Ghibelins againſt Guelphs, and both againſt the Germans; all the towns agreed in their hatred to Germany, and all of them made war upon one another,

another, inſtead of uniting to break their chains for ever.

During theſe troubles, the Teutonic order continues ſtill a body of conquerors towards Ruſſia. The Poles take ſome of their towns; and John, king of Bohemia, marches to their aſſiſtance. He penetrates as far as Cracovia. He appeaſes the troubles in Sileſia. At that time he made all Europe tremble, being maſter of Bohemia, Sileſia, and Moravia.

Straſburg, Fribourg in Briſgau, and Baſil, unite in theſe troubleſome times againſt the neighbouring tyrants; and ſeveral other towns join in the aſſociation. The neighbourhood of four Swiſs Cantons become free, inſpire thoſe people with ſentiments of liberty.

Otho of Auſtria beſieges Colmar, which is ſupported againſt him by the emperor. The count of Wirtemberg, and the king of Bohemia, furniſh the emperor with troops. We ſee on both ſides an army of thirty thouſand men, but this for one campaign only. The emperor was then no more than any other prince of Germany, who uſes his friends againſt his enemies. What would have been the caſe, if the whole had united in order to ſubdue all Italy in an effectual manner?

But Germany is ingroſſed by nothing but internal quarrels. The duke of Auſtria reconciles himſelf to the emperor. The face of affairs continually changes, and the miſery of the people continues.

1333.

We have ſeen John, king of Bohemia, fighting for the emperor; now behold him in arms for the Pope. We have ſeen Robert, king of Naples,

Naples, the Pope's defender; now he is his enemy. The ſame king of Bohemia who had beſieged Cracovia, goes to Italy, in concert with the king of France, to eſtabliſh the Pope's power in that country. Thus men are led about by ambition.

What is the conſequence? He gives battle, near Ferrara, to Robert, king of Naples, united with the Viſcomtis and the Eſcales, princes of Verona. He is twice defeated, and returns to Germany, after having loſt his troops, his money, and his reputation.

Troubles and wars in Brabant, on account of the property of Mechlin, which the duke of Brabant and the count of Flanders diſpute with each other. The king of Bohemia intermeddles again. An accommodation is effected, and Mechlin remains with the count of Flanders.

1334.

Mean while, the emperor Lewis of Bavaria lives quietly at Munich, and ſeems to meddle no more with any affairs whatſoever.

Pope John XXII. being more reſtleſs, ſtill ſolicits the German princes to riſe againſt Lewis of Bavaria: and the Franciſcans, who ſided with Michael de Ceſena, being condemned by the Pope, preſs the emperor to aſſemble a council to declare the Pope heretic, and depoſe him accordingly.

The emperor is more ſpeedily revenged by death than by a council. John XXII. dies at Avignon, December 2, in the ninetieth year of his age.

Villani pretends that in his treaſury was found the value of five and twenty millions of gold florins,

florins, eighteen millions of which were in ſpecie. "I know it, ſays Villani, from my brother Romona, who was the Pope's banker." We may boldly anſwer Villani, that his brother was a great exaggerator. That ſum would have been equal to about two hundred millions of German crowns of theſe days. At that time ſuch a ſum would have purchaſed all Italy, and yet John XXII. never ſet foot in that country. In vain did he add a third crown to the pontifical Tiara; he was not the more powerful on that account. True it is, he ſold a great number of benefices; he invented annats, reſerves, and reverſions, and ſet a price upon diſpenſations and abſolutions. All theſe expedients are much more ineffectual than one would imagine, and produce a great deal more ſcandal than money; the exactors of ſuch tributes generally pay but a very ſmall ſhare to their employers.

One thing worthy of obſervation is, that he had ſome ſcruples on his death-bed about the manner in which he had affirmed God to be ſeen in Heaven: but he had none about the treaſures he had amaſſed upon earth.

1335.

Old king John of Luxemburg marries a young princeſs of the houſe of France, and Bourbon branch, and by the contract of marriage ſettles the duchy of Luxemburg upon the ſon of the marriage. Almoſt all the clauſes of contracts are ſo many ſeeds of war.

Here is another marriage which produces a war, almoſt as ſoon as it is conſummated. The old king of Bohemia had a ſecond ſon, called John of Luxemburg, duke of Carinthia. The young

young prince took the title of duke of Carinthia, becauſe his wife had pretenſions to that duchy. That princeſs of Carinthia, called Margaret Great Mouth, pretends that her huſband, John of Luxemburg, is impotent. She finds a biſhop of Friſingen who diſſolves the marriage without formalities, and ſhe gives herſelf in marriage to the marquis of Brandenburg.

Intereſt has as great a ſhare as love in this adultery. The margrave of Brandenburg was ſon of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria. Margaret Great Mouth brought him Tirol by way of dower, together with her claim upon Carinthia: thus the emperor made no difficulty of taking this lady from the prince of Bohemia, and giving her to his ſon of Brandenburg. This marriage excites a war that laſts a whole year, and after abundance of bloodſhed the parties come to a very ſingular accommodation; namely, that young John of Luxemburg ſhall confeſs his wife had reaſon to forſake him, and approve of her marriage with the emperor's ſon of Brandenburg. A petty war waged by the Straſburgers againſt the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. Straſburg acts as a real independent republic, except that the biſhop frequently put himſelf at the head of troops in order to make the citizens dependent upon the ſee.

1336, 1337.

Abundance of negotiations are begun in Germany, for the famous war which Edward III. king of England, meditated againſt Philip de Valois. The buſineſs was to know who ſhould be poſſeſſor of France.

True

True it is, that country, much more confined than it is at preſent, weakened by the diviſions of the feudal government, and without any conſiderable maritime trade, was not the greateſt theatre of Europe, though always an object of great importance.

Philip de Valois on one ſide, and Edward on the other, endeavour to engage the German princes in their quarrel; but the Engliſhman ſeems to have played his part better than the Frenchman. Philip de Valois has the king of Bohemia for his ally; and Edward has all the princes that border upon France. In particular he has the emperor on his ſide; though indeed he got nothing from him, except letters patent, but theſe create him vicar of the empire. The proud Edward willingly conſents to exerciſe that vicariate, in hope of ſeeing the war againſt France declared the war of the empire. His commiſſion imports that he may coin money in all the territories of the empire; nothing more evidently proves that ſecret reſpect which all Europe had for the imperial dignity.

While Edward ſtrengthens himſelf with the temporal forces of Germany, Philip de Valois tries to put in action the ſpiritual forces of the Pope, which were then of little ſignification.

Pope Benedict XI. ſtill reſiding at Avignon, like his predeceſſors, was wholly dependent on the king of France.

It muſt be remembered that the emperor, who never received abſolution from the Pope, continued ſtill in a ſtate of excommunication, and deprived of all his rights, in the vulgar opinion of thoſe times.

Philip

Philip de Valois, who could do any thing with a pope of Avignon, forces Benedict XI. to delay the abſolution of the emperor. Thus the authority of a prince often directs the pontifical miniſtry, and that miniſtry rouſes other princes in its turn. There is one Henry, duke of Bavaria, related to Lewis the emperor, and ſtill, according to cuſtom, taking the title of duke, without having the duchy, though he poſſeſſed part of Lower Bavaria. This Henry by deputation aſks pardon of the Pope for having acknowledged his kinſman emperor. This meanneſs produces none of thoſe revolutions which were expected from it in the empire.

1338.

Pope Benedict XI. owns he is hindered by Philip de Valois, king of France, from reconciling the emperor Lewis to the church. We ſee how almoſt all the popes have been no more than the inſtruments of a foreign power. They frequently reſembled the gods of the Indians, from whom their adorers demand rain upon their knees, but when theſe prayers are not heard, their godſhips are ducked in the river.

There is a great aſſembly of the princes of the empire at Rens upon the Rhine, where they declare what there ought to have been no occaſion for declaring, "that he who has been choſen by the majority is the true emperor; that the Pope's confirmation is altogether unneceſſary; that the Pope is ſtill leſs intitled to the right of depoſing the emperor, and that the contrary opinion is high treaſon."

This declaration paſſes into a perpetual law, on the 8th day of Auguſt at Frankfort.

Albert

Albert of Auſtria, at firſt ſirnamed the Counterfeit, and afterwards the Sage, one of the brothers of Frederick of Auſtria who had diſputed the empire, and the only one of all his brothers, by whom the Auſtrian race is perpetuated, attacks the Swiſs again without ſucceſs. Theſe people who had no riches but liberty, always defend it with unſhaken courage. Albert miſcarries in his enterprize; in abandoning which, he deſerves the name of Sage.

1339.

Lewis the emperor thinks of nothing but living quietly at Munich, while his vicar, Edward king of England, engages fifty princes of the empire in the war againſt Philip de Valois, and goes to conquer part of France. But before the end of the campaign all thoſe princes go home; and Edward, aſſiſted by the Flemings, purſues his ambitious aim.

1340.

The emperor who had formerly repented of giving the vicariate of Italy, to a powerful and warlike king of Bohemia, repents again of having given the vicariate of Germany to a more powerful and more warlike monarch. The emperor was the penſioner of his vicar; and the proud Engliſhman acting the maſter and neglecting to pay the penſion, Lewis deprives him of the vicariate, which was become a very uſeleſs title.

The emperor negotiates with Philip de Valois. Mean while the imperial authority is quite annihilated in Italy, notwithſtanding the perpetual law of Frankfort.

The

The pope by his own private authority grants to the two brothers Viſcomtis, the government of Milan, which they had without his confirmation, and makes them vicars of the Roman church. They had formerly been imperial vicars.

King John of Bohemia goes to Montpelier to be cured by the ſalubrity of the air, of a diſtemper which had attacked his eyes. Nevertheleſs he loſes his eye-ſight, and is afterwards known by the name of John the Blind. He makes his will, by which he leaves Bohemia and Sileſia to Charles afterwards emperor, Moravia to John, and to Winceſlaus born of Beatrice de Bourbon, he leaves Luxemburg and the lands he poſſeſſed in France in right of his wife.

In the mean time the emperor enjoys the glory of deciding as arbiter in the quarrels of the houſe of Denmark. The Duke of Sleſwic Holſtein by this accommodation renounces his pretenſions to the kingdom of Denmark: he gives his ſiſter in marriage to king Waldemar III. and remains in poſſeſſion of Jutland.

1341, 1342, 1343.

Lewis of Bavaria ſeems to have forgotten Italy, and gives tournaments at Munich.

The new pope Clement VI. born a Frenchman and reſiding at Avignon, is at length ſolicited to go and re-eſtabliſh the pontificate in Italy, and there compleat the annihilation of the imperial authority. He follows the footſteps of John XXII. in his proceedings againſt Lewis. He ſolicits the archbiſhop of Triers to cauſe a new emperor to be elected in Germany. He privately ſtirs up againſt him the king of Bohemia

Bohemia, John the Blind, ſtill reſtleſs, together with the duke of Saxony and Albert of Auſtria.

Lewis the emperor, who has ſtill reaſon to fear that the want of abſolution may arm the princes of the empire againſt him, flatters the pope whom he deteſts, and writes to him, "that he ſubmits his perſon, dominions, liberty and titles to the diſpoſition of his holineſs." What expreſſions are theſe, to come from an emperor who had condemned John XXII. to be burnt alive.

The princes aſſembled at Frankfort are not ſo complaiſant, and maintain the rights of the empire.

1344, 1345.

John the Blind ſeems to have become more ambitious ſince the loſs of his eye-ſight. On one ſide he wants to pave the way to the empire for his ſon Charles; on the other hand he makes war upon Caſimir king of Poland for the dependence of the dutchy of Schweidnitz in Sileſia.

This is the ordinary effect of the feudal eſtabliſhment. The duke of Schweidnitz had done homage to the king of Poland. John of Bohemia reclaims the homage in quality of duke of Sileſia. The emperor privately ſupports the intereſt of the Pole, but in ſpite of the emperor, the war is ſucceſsful to the houſe of Luxemburg. Prince Charles of Luxemburg, marquis of Moravia, ſon of John the Blind, being a widower, marries the niece of the duke of Schweidnitz, who does homage to Bohemia; and this is a new confirmation of Sileſia's being annexed to the crown of Bohemia.

The

The empreſs Margaret wife of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and ſiſter of John of Brabant, finds herſelf heireſs of Holland, Zealand, and Frieſland; and enjoys the ſucceſſion. The emperor her huſband ought to have been much more powerful by means of this acquiſition, and yet he is not.

At this period Robert count Palatine founds the univerſity of Heidelberg on the model of that of Paris.

1346.

John the Blind and his ſon Charles make a great party in the empire in the pope's name.

The imperial and papal factions at length diſturb Germany, as the Guelphs and Ghibelins had troubled Italy. Clement VII. takes advantage of theſe diſorders. He publiſhes a bull againſt Lewis of Bavaria, dated April 13. "May the curſe of God, ſays he, and that of St. Peter and St. Paul, light upon him in this world as well as in the next; may the earth open and ſwallow him alive; may his memory periſh, and all the elements be his foes; and may his children fall into the hands of his enemies even before the eyes of their father."

There was no precedent for ſuch bulls; they depended intirely on the caprice of the datary by whom they were expedited. The caprice on this occaſion, is a little violent.

There were at that time two archbiſhops of Mentz, one vainly depoſed by the Pope; the other elected at his inſtigation, by part of the canons. It was to this laſt that Clement VI. addreſſes another bull, for the election of an emperor.

John the Blind, king of Bohemia, and his ſon Charles marquis of Moravia, who was afterwards the emperor Charles IV. go to Avignon to bargain for the empire with Clement VI. Charles engages to annul all the decrees of Lewis of Bavaria, to acknowledge that the county of Avignon rightfully belonged to the holy ſee, as well as Ferrara and the other territories, (he meant thoſe of the counteſs Mathilda) the kingdoms of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corſica, and Rome in particular; and that in caſe the emperor ſhould go to Rome to be crowned, he ſhould quit the city the ſame day, and never return without the expreſs permiſſion of the pope, &c.

After theſe promiſes Clement VI. recommends it to the archbiſhop of Cologne and Triers and to the new archbiſhop of Mentz to elect the marquis of Moravia as emperor. Theſe three prelates, with John the Blind, aſſemble at Rens near Coblentz, July 1, and elect Charles of Luxemburgh marquis of Moravia, who was known by the name of Charles IV.

Father Maimbourg poſitively affirms that he bought the vote of the archbiſhop of Cologne for eight thouſand marks of ſilver, and he adds that the duke of Saxony, who was richer, *gave his vote at a cheaper rate, contenting himſelf with two thouſand marks.*

1. What father Maimbourg affirms, is related only as an hearſay by Cuſpinian.

2. How could theſe ſecret bargains be diſcovered.

3. This is certainly a fine proof of the diſintereſted conduct of the duke of Saxony, to diſgrace himſelf for the paultry conſideration of

two thouſand marks only, becauſe he is rich. The circumſtance of being rich is preciſely the reaſon for a man's ſelling himſelf at a higher price, provided he is reſolved to ſell himſelf to the beſt bidder.

4. Will common ſenſe allow us to believe that Charles IV. would buy ſo dear an uncertain title and a certain civil war?

Although Germany was divided, the party of Lewis of Bavaria is ſo much the ſtronger, that the new emperor and his old father, inſtead of ſupporting their claim in Germany, go to fight in France for Philip de Valois againſt Edward of England.

Old king John of Bohemia is killed in the famous battle of Creci *, won by the Engliſh, on the 25th or 26th day of Auguſt. Charles returns to Bohemia deſtitute of troops and money. He is the firſt king of Bohemia who cauſed himſelf to be crowned by the archbiſhop of Prague; and it was in conſequence of this coronation, that the ſee of Prague, hitherto ſuffragan of Mentz, was erected into an archbiſhopric.

1347.

Then Lewis of Bavaria and the anti-emperor, make war upon one another. Charles of Luxemburg is every where defeated.

A very ſingular ſcene was at this period exhibited in Italy. Nicholas Rienzi notary at Rome, an eloquent, bold, inſinuating man, ſeeing Rome abandoned by the emperors and the popes, who durſt not return, had been cho-

* His creſt and motto, which were three Oſtrich feathers and the words *ich dien*, ſignifying *I ſerve*, were adopted by Edward the Black prince, and became the bearings of all ſucceeding princes of Wales.

590320B

ſen tribune of the people. He reigned ſome months with abſolute power; but the people who had raiſed, ſoon deſtroyed this idol. A long time had elapſed ſince Rome was rendered unfit for tribunes. But we ſtill ſee that ancient love of liberty produce divers ſhocks, and quarrel with its chains. Rienzi entitled himſelf *the candid knight of the holy Ghoſt, the ſevere tho' merciful deliverer of Rome, the zealous ſtickler for the liberty of Italy, lover of the univerſe and auguſt tribune.* Theſe fine titles prove him to have been an enthuſiaſt, and conſequently capable of ſeducing the loweſt claſs of the people; but altogether unworthy to command men of ſpirit and underſtanding. He in vain attempted to imitate Gracchus, as Creſcentius had before vainly attempted to imitate Brutus.

Certain it is, Rome was then a republic, tho' very weak, as having nothing of the ancient Roman republic, but party and faction. All its glory conſiſted in its ancient name.

It is difficult to determine whether or not any times had been more unfortunate, from the inundations of the barbarians to the fifth century. The popes were driven from Rome; all Germany was harraſſed with civil war; Italy was torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibelins; Jane queen of Naples after having ſtrangled her huſband, underwent the ſame fate; Edward III. ruined France, over which he wanted to reign; and laſtly the plague, as we ſhall ſee, deſtroyed a great part of thoſe who had eſcaped famine and the ſword.

Lewis of Bavaria dies of an apoplexy near Augſburg on the eleventh day of October. Others alledge he was poiſoned by a ducheſs of

Auſtria. Andrew the prieſt, and others pretend this ducheſs of Auſtria was the ſame called Great Mouth; but Andrew the prieſt does not conſider that Margaret the Great Mouth is the very ſame who had quitted her husband for the emperor's ſon. The hiſtorians of thoſe days muſt have entertained a great hatred to princes; for they cauſe almoſt all of them to be poiſoned. One Hocſemius expreſſes himſelf to this effect: "The damned Bavarian emperor dies of poiſon, adminiſtred by the ducheſs of Oſtrogotia or Auſtria, wife of duke Albert." Struvius tells us, he was ſaid to be poiſoned by the ducheſs of Auſtria, called Ann. Here then are three pretended different ducheſſes of Auſtria, accuſed of that death without the leaſt probability. In this manner was hiſtory heretofore written. By reading father Barre one would believe that Lewis of Bavaria was poiſoned by a fourth princeſs called Maultaſch: but this is becauſe in the German language Maultaſch ſignifies great mouth or wry-mouth; and this princeſs is that individual Margaret who was the emperor's daughter-in-law.

He intitled himſelf Lewis IV. and not Lewis V. becauſe he did not reckon Lewis IV. ſirnamed the Infant among the emperors.

It was he who gave occaſion to invent the eagle with two heads: there were two eagles in his ſeals; and the two heads of the eagle preſerved almoſt always ſince this period, ſuppoſe two bodies alſo, one of which is concealed by the other. The caprice of artiſts hath determined almoſt all the armorial bearings of ſovereign princes.

CHARLES IV.

THIRTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1348.

CHARLES of Luxemburg * king of Bohemia goes forthwith from town to town, in order to get himſelf acknowledged emperor.

Lewis margrave of Brandenburg diſputes the crown with him.

The old archbiſhop of Mentz excommunicates him. The count Palatine Rupert and the duke of Saxony join; not inclining to acknowledge either pretender. They annul the election of Charles of Bohemia, and name Edward III. king of England, who had no notion of it.

The empire was now no more than a burdenſome title, ſince the ambitious Edward refuſed it; not chuſing to interrupt his conqueſts in France, to run after a ſhadow.

On the refuſal of Edward the electors addreſſed themſelves to the marquis of Miſnia, a relation of the deceaſed emperor. He alſo declined it. Mutius ſays, he preferred ten thouſand marks of ſilver, received from the hands of Charles IV. to the imperial crown. This is rating the empire at a very poor price; but it is very doubtful that Charles IV. had ten thouſand marks to beſtow; he who was, at the

* He was chriſtened Winceſlaus, but afterwards received the name of Charles, from Charles the Fair of France, at whoſe court he was educated.

ſame

ſame time, arreſted at Worms * by his butcher; a debt which he could no otherwiſe pay, than by borrowing money of the biſhop.

The electors refuſed on every ſide, at laſt offer the empire, with which no perſons ſeem willing to meddle, to Gunther of Schwartzburg, a noble Thuringian. This man, who was a warrior, and had little to loſe, accepted the offer, to maintain it at the point of his ſword.

1349.

The electors chuſe Gunther of Schwartzburg near Frankfort; the too frequent double elections had introduced a ſingular cuſtom at Frankfort. The firſt of the competitors that appeared before the place, waited ſix weeks and three days; after which he was received and acknowledged, provided there was no news of his competitor. Gunther waited the appointed time, after which he made his entry †; much was expected from him. They pretend that his rival cauſed him to be poiſoned. The German poiſon of thoſe times, was feaſting to excels ‡. Gunther becomes apoplectic and incapable

* Charles met with divers affronts. The citizens of Nuremberg drove him out of the place, and opened their gates to Lewis of Brandenburg. At Rottenburg on the Neckar, he preſented himſelf in a tournament under the name of Schlhard of Richburg, and was unhorſed by one de la Prive, to whom he was obliged to pay the forfeit.

† He was obliged to beſiege the place with an army raiſed by the electors for that purpoſe.

‡ Father Barre ſays, he was poiſoned by a phyſician whoſe name was Fredank, ſuppoſed to be bribed by Charles. When he preſented the medicine to the emperor, he was ordered to ſwallow part of it, and obeyed; upon which Gunther took the remainder; but obſerving the Phyſician's

capable of the throne; and ſells it for a ſum of money, which Charles never pays him. It was ſaid to be twenty-two thouſand marks. He died at Frankfort in about three months.

As for Lewis of Bavaria, margrave of Brandenburg, he gives up his rights for nothing, not being ſufficiently ſtrong to ſell them to Charles IV. who gets the better of the four competitors without fighting, and cauſes himſelf to be crowned a ſecond time at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbiſhop of Cologn, to put the title out of diſpute.

The marquis of Juliers diſputes the right of bearing the ſword, at the coronation ceremony with the marquis of Brandenburg. Anceſtors of the marquis of Juliers had performed that office. But this prince did not rank then with the electors, conſequently not with the great officers. The marquis of Brandenburg is maintained in his right.

1350.

A plague more memorable than that which depopulated the earth in the time of Hippocrates, was now ſeverely felt all over Europe; and ſwept away almoſt every where above one-fifth of the inhabitants; the Germans as headſtrong as ignorant accuſe the Jews of having poiſoned their fountains, and every where burn and deſtroy them*.

What

countenance beginning to change, he ſuſpected the treachery, and endeavoured by vomits to expel the poiſon, which therefore had not an immediate effect. As for Fredank, he died in three days.

* At Straſburg, the populace headed by a butcher, depoſed the magiſtracy, and inveſted their chief with an abſolute

What is wonderful is, that Charles IV. protected the Jews that paid him, againſt the biſhop and citizens of Strasburg; the abbot prince of Mourbac and other lords; he was ready to make war with them in favour of the Jews.

The ſect of Flagellants revive in Suabia; they are large companies of men who traverſe all Germany, whipping themſelves with cords knotted with iron, to drive away the plague. The antient Romans in like circumſtances inſtituted comedies; the milder remedy of the two.

An impoſtor appears in Brandenburg, who calls himſelf the antient Waldemar returned from the holy land; who pretends to retake poſſeſſion of his eſtate unjuſtly given, during his abſence, by Lewis of Bavaria to his ſon Lewis †.

The duke of Mecklinburg ſupports the impoſtor; the emperor Charles IV. countenances him. A ſlight war enſues; the pretended Waldemar is abandoned and eclipſed.

1351.

Charles IV. is willing to go into Italy, where both popes and emperors are forgotten. The Viſconti rule in the mean time at Milan. John Viſconti archbiſhop of that town, becomes a conqueror. He ſeizes Bologna; makes war upon the Florentines and Piſans, holding in equal contempt the emperor and the pope. It

ſolute power. He cauſed two thouſand Jews to be burned alive, confiſcated their effects, and decreed that no individuals of that nation ſhould be admitted into Strasburg for the term of one hundred years.

† The impoſtor had been groom to the marquis, reſembled him in perſon, and imitated his deportment.

was he who compoſed the letter from the devil to the pope and cardinals beginning, "Your mother Pride greets you, together with your ſiſters Avarice and Immodeſty."

The devil in all likelihood managed the agreement between John Viſconti and pope Clement, who ſold him the inveſtiture of Milan for twelve years, at twelve thouſand golden florins a year.

1352.

The houſe of Auſtria has always demands on great part of Swiſſerland: the duke Albert intends the conqueſt of Zurich, which allies itſelf with the other cantons already confederated. The emperor aſſiſts the houſe of Auſtria in this war, like a man who wiſhed it not to ſucceed. He ſends troops not to fight; or rather who don't fight. The union and liberty of the Swiſs are their defence.

The imperial towns incline to eſtabliſh popular government in imitation of Strasburgh: Nuremberg drives out his nobles, but Charles IV. reſtores them. He joins Luſatia to his kingdom of Bohemia; it has ſince been divided from it.

1353.

The emperor Charles IV. while he was the young prince of Bohemia, had gained battles even againſt the pope's intereſt in Italy. Since he has come to the imperial throne, he ſearches for relics, flatters the popes; employs himſelf in making laws, but his chief care is the firm eſtabliſhment of his houſe.

He comes to an accommodation with the children of Lewis of Bavaria, and reconciles them to the pope.

Albert

Albert duke of Bavaria ſaw himſelf excommunicated becauſe his father had been ſo; wherefore, to prevent the piety of ſuch princes as might think themſelves entitled, by virtue of his excommunication, to ſtrip him of his dominions, he humbly aſked pardon of the new pope Innocent VI. for the injuries done to the emperor his father by the preceding popes. He ſigned an act beginning thus: "I Albert duke of Bavaria, ſon of Lewis of Bavaria, formerly ſtiling himſelf Emperor, and cenſured by the holy Roman Church," &c.

It don't appear that he was forced to this ſervile ſubmiſſion; ſo that he muſt, at that time, either have had little honour or much ſuperſtition.

1354.

It is remarkable that Charles IV. paſſing through Mentz, in the way to his eſtates in Luxemburg, was not received as emperor, becauſe he had not yet been conſecrated.

Henry VII. had already given to Wenceſlaus lord of Luxemburg the title of Duke. Charles erects it into a duchy, and Bar into a margraviate. Hence it has been evidently ſeen how Bar comes to be held of the empire. Pont-a-Mouſſon is alſo made a marquiſate. All this country is at length called The Empire.

1355.

Charles IV. goes to Italy to be crowned; rather like a pilgrim than an emperor.

The holy ſee was at this time ſituated at Avignon, pope Innocent VI. having but little credit at Rome, the emperor ſtill leſs. The empire was no more than a name, and the coronation an idle ceremony. He either ought

to have gone to Rome like Charlemagne and Otho the Great, or elſe he ought not to have gone at all.

Charles IV. and Innocent VI. fond of ceremonies. Innocent VI. ſent to Avignon a detail of all that was neceſſary to be obſerved at the coronation of the emperor. He appointed the nuncio from Rome to carry the ſword before him, which is only an honour, and no mark of juriſdiction. The pope is to be on his throne ſurrounded by his cardinals, and the emperor is to begin by kiſſing his feet; after which he preſents him gold, ſalutes him, &c. During the maſs, the emperor performs ſome duties in the rank of a deacon. He receives the imperial crown at the end of the firſt epiſtle. After maſs, without either crown or cloak, he holds the bridle of the pope's horſe.

None of theſe ceremonies have been practiſed ſince the popes reſided at Avignon. The emperor at length acknowledged in writing the authenticity of theſe cuſtoms; but the pope, then at Avignon, finding it impoſſible either to have his feet kiſſed at Rome, or his bridle held by the emperor, declared that prince ſhould neither kiſs his feet, nor guide the mule of the cardinal who repreſents his holineſs.

Charles IV. went to this ſhew with a large retinue, but unarmed; nor did he dare to ſleep in Rome, according to the promiſe he had made to his holineſs. Ann his wife, daughter to the count Palatine, was alſo crowned; and indeed this empty pomp was rather the vanity of a woman, than the triumph of an emperor. Charles IV. having neither men nor money, and coming to Rome only to ſerve as deacon to a cardinal's

a cardinal's maſs, was inſulted in every town in Italy through which he paſſed *.

There is a famous letter from Petrarch to the emperor, reproaching him with his weakneſs. Petrarch was worthy of teaching Charles IV. to think nobly.

1356.

Charles IV. acts in every thing contrary to his predeceſſors: they had favoured the Ghibelins, who were in effect the faction of the empire: he marches ſome forces againſt them, countenancing the Guelphs, whereby he only increaſes the troubles of Italy.

At his return into Germany he applied himſelf, as much as poſſible, to eſtabliſh order, and regulate rank. The number of electorates had been fixed ſince the time of Henry VII. more by cuſtom than by laws, but not the number of electors. The dukes of Bavaria, above all, pretending a right to vote, as well as the count Palatine, the elder branch of their houſe; and the younger brothers of the houſe of Saxony believed themſelves electors as well as the elder.

In the diet of Nuremberg, Charles IV. deprives the duke of Bavaria of his right to vote, and declares the count Palatine the only elector of that houſe.

* Nothing could be more puſillanimous than the behaviour of this emperor. He ſneaked out of Rome on pretence of going a-hunting. There was an attempt made to burn him in his lodgings at Piſa, where part of his retinue were maſſacred by the populace. Many towns, attached to the intereſts of the empire, ſhut their gates againſt him. At Cremona, he was obliged to wait without the walls two long hours for the anſwer of the magiſtrates, who at length permitted him to enter as a ſimple ſtranger, without arms or retinue.

THE

THE GOLDEN BULL.

THE twenty-three firſt articles of the Golden Bull are publiſhed at Nuremberg with great ſolemnity. This conſtitution of the empire, the only one which the public calls a Bull, takes its name from a little gold box * in which the ſeal is contained, and is eſteemed as a fundamental law.

It could only be eſtabliſhed among men by the laws of convention. Thoſe which long cuſtom has ſanctified, are called fundamental. Several things in this Golden Bull have been altered according to the times.

It was compoſed by the famous civilian Bartolus. The genius of the times appears in ſome Latin verſes to be found in the exordium: *Omnipotens æterne Deus, ſpes unica mundi:* as well as in the apoſtrophe to the ſeven mortal ſins; and in the neceſſity of having ſeven electors, becauſe of the ſeven gifts of the holy Ghoſt, and the candleſtick with ſeven branches.

The emperor, at firſt, ſpoke like an abſolute maſter without conſulting any perſon.

"We declare and ordain by this preſent edict, which ſhall continue to all perpetuity, from our certain knowledge, abſolute power, and imperial authority."

He does not therein eſtabliſh the ſeven electors; he ſuppoſes them eſtabliſhed. There is no mention in the two firſt chapters about the form and ſecurity of the journey of the ſeven electors, who are not to go to Frankfort with-

* It was ſo named from a little golden ſeal named *Bulla*, out

out declaring to the world and to Chriſtians a temporal ſovereign; that is to ſay, a king of the Romans, or future emperor.

They afterwards ſuppoſe, N° 8. article the 2d, that this cuſtom has been always inviolably obſerved; "and moreover that which is above written has been inviolably obſerved." Charles IV. and Bartolus forget that they had often elected emperors in another manner, beginning from Charlemagne, and ending with Charles IV. himſelf. One of the moſt important points is the indiviſibility of the right of electing, which by hereditary right paſſes, in the male line, always to the eldeſt ſon.

It ought then to have been ordained, that the ſecular electorates be no more divided, but deſcend wholly to the eldeſt ſon. This is what was omitted in the twenty-three famous articles publiſhed at Nuremberg, ſo very oſtentatiouſly, the emperor attending the publication, with a ſceptre in one hand, and the globe of the world in the other. Very few things are attended to in that bull; neither is there any method obſerved, nor the particulars of the general government of the empire in the leaſt treated of.

A moſt important thing is expreſſed in the 7th article of N° 7., that is, if one of the electoral principalities becomes vacant to the profit of the empire (undoubtedly the ſecular principalities are underſtood) the emperor has the diſpoſal of it, as of a thing fallen legally to him and to the empire. Theſe confuſed words point out that the emperor can take as his own an electorate, when the line is either extinct or attainted. The particular favour ſhewn to Bohemia is alſo remarkable in this bull, the emperor

peror being king of Bohemia. It is the only country whence there can be no appeal to the imperial chamber. This right *de non appellando* has ſince been granted to divers princes, and contributed to make them much more powerful.

The reader may conſult the golden bull for the remainder.

The finiſhing hand is put to the golden bull at Metz; where, during the Chriſtmas, ſeven chapters are added to it. They repair the inadvertent omiſſion of making the electoral ſucceſſions indiviſible. That which is moſt clear and evident in theſe articles, is the reſpect paid to pomp and vanity. It is plain to be ſeen, that Charles IV. takes delight in making the electors officiate as menials in open court.

The emperor's table three feet higher than that of the empreſs; and hers three feet above thoſe of the electors; a heap of oats lying before the door of the dining-hall; a duke of Saxony coming on horſeback to take a peck of oats from this heap; in fine, all this oſtentation was far from reſembling the majeſtic ſimplicity of Rome's firſt Ceſars.

A modern author ſays, that they have not derogated from the laſt article of the golden bull, ſince all the electors ſpeak French: yet it is in this preciſely that they have derogated; for it is ordained by the laſt article, that the electors learn Latin and Sclavonian, as well as Italian. Now few of the electors value themſelves upon ſpeaking the Sclavonian.

The whole bull was at length publiſhed at Metz, when there was a very full court, and the electors attended the emperor and empreſs

at

at table, each man in his function. It was not for ſuch ſolemnities as theſe, that princes did theſe high offices; originally they were officers of the houſhold, who had, in time, become great princes.

1357.

That Charles IV. was no friend to either the houſes of Bavaria or Auſtria is plain, from the excluſion of their reſpective dukes in the golden bull. The firſt conſequence of this pacific regulation was a civil war. The dukes of Bavaria and Auſtria raiſe troops. They beſiege one of the emperor's commiſſaries in Danuſtauſſen. The emperor arrives at that place; he can diſſolve the league between Auſtria and Bavaria no other way, but by giving up Danuſtauſſen to the elector of Bavaria, inſtead of the right to a vote, which he demanded.

There is a great conteſt in the empire on account of phalburghers or falſe burghers. A conteſt, in which it is very likely the authors have been miſtaken. The golden bull ordains, that no burghers belonging to any particular prince ſhall be received in the imperial towns, to withdraw from their ſovereign, unleſs they become reſidents in theſe towns. Nothing is more juſt, nothing more eaſily to be fulfilled. For certainly a prince will over-rule the diſobedience of one of his own burghers, under pretence of his being admitted a citizen of Baſil or Conſtance.

Why then ſuch diſſenſions about theſe falſe burghers at Straſburg? why were they in arms? can Straſburgh, by any example, ſupport a ſubject of Vienna to whom it had given his freedom, and will it be admitted at Vienna? undoubtedly

doubtedly no. This is certainly one of the moſt important and moſt ſacred affairs. Sovereigns would deprive their ſubjects of the firſt great right all men have, to chuſe their dwelling-place. They fear their dominions will be quitted for the free towns. This then is the emperor's reaſon for commanding the people of Straſburgh to receive no ſtrangers on the footing of citizens; this is the reaſon that the citizens of Straſburgh endeavour to preſerve themſelves in that right, which peoples and enriches a town.

1358.

Charles IV. with all this appearance of grandeur, formerly a warrior, at preſent a law-giver, and maſter of a rich and beautiful country, has nevertheleſs ſcarcely any credit in the empire; becauſe nobody wiſhed he ſhould.

When the emperor endeavoured to incorporate Luſatia and Bohemia, Albert of Auſtria, who has ſome demands on Luſatia, ſuddenly makes war on him, while no one perſon aſſiſts him: and he has no way of getting quit of this affair but by a ſtratagem, and that a very baſe one. It is pretended that he deceived the duke of Auſtria by ſpies; and that he afterwards paid theſe ſpies in falſe money. This ſtory wears the air of a fable, but it is a fable founded on his character.

He ſells privileges to all the towns; to the count of Savoy he ſells the title of vicar of the empire at Geneva; he for a certain ſum confirms the liberty of the town of Florence; and he extorts conſiderably from Venice for the ſovereignty of Verona, Padua, and Vicenza, but the Viſcontis pay him moſt dearly for having

the

the hereditary power in Milan under the title of governor. Thus it is pretended that the empire, which he bought wholeſale, he ſold by retail.

1359.

The princes of the empire, excited by the univerſities of Germany, repreſent to Charles IV. that in the bull of Clement V. there are many things diſhonourable both to him and the Germanic body; that among others, it is expreſſed, that the emperors are the pope's vaſſals, and an oath of fidelity is preſented to them. Charles, who had lived long enough to know theſe ſlight forms need only be attended to, when ſupported by force of arms, complains to the pope leſt he ſhould irritate the Germanic body; but in a very moderate ſtile, for fear of irritating the pope. Innocent IV. gives for anſwer, that this propoſition is become a fundamental law of the church, taught in all the ſchools of divinity. To back this anſwer, he ſends a biſhop of Cavaillon from Avignon to Germany, to demand one tenth of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues, for the pope's maintenance.

The biſhop of Cavaillon returns to Avignon, after having received ſtrong complaints, inſtead of money. The German clergy exclaim againſt the pope; and this was one of the firſt ſparks of that revolution in the church which we now ſee.

A reſcript of Charles IV. in favour of the clergy, protecting them againſt ſuch princes as would prevent them from meddling with worldly wealth, and bargaining with the laity.

1360.

1360.

Charles IV. while making regulations in Germany, abandons Italy. The Viſconti ſtill continue maſters of Milan; Barnaby is willing to preſerve Bologna, which his uncle, a warlike and politic archbiſhop, had bought for twelve years.

A Spaniſh legate, called d'Albornos, enters the town in the name of the pope, who continues ſtill at Avignon; and gives Bologna to the pope.

Barnaby Viſconti beſieges Bologna. How can one credit, at this day, that the holy father promiſed by agreement to pay one hundred thouſand livres in gold annually, for five years, to be maſter of Bologna? the hiſtorians who repeat ſuch exaggerations are certainly but little acquainted with the true value of 500,000 livres in gold.

1361.

The ſiege of Bologna is raiſed, without being any expence to the pope. A marquis of Malateſta, who had thrown himſelf with ſome troops into the town, makes a ſally, beats Barnaby, and cauſes him to retreat homewards. The emperor meddles no other way in this affair, than by an effectual reſcript in favour of the pope.

A war having broke out between the crown of Denmark on the one hand, and the Hans-towns on the other, is terminated as uſual by treaty.

1362.

Several of the Hans-towns treat with Denmark at Lubeck, in the terms of a crowned head,

head, a glorious monument of liberty founded on reſpectable induſtry. Lubeck, Roſtock, Stralſund, Hamburg, Wieſmar, Bremen, and ſeveral others, form a perpetual peace with the "king of Denmark, of the Goths, and Vandals; the princes, merchants, and freemen of his kingdom." Theſe are the words of the treaty; which prove that Denmark was free, and the Hans-towns ſtill more ſo.

The empreſs Ann having been brought to-bed of Wenceſlaus, the emperor ſends the weight of the child in gold to our lady at Aix; a cuſtom which began then to be eſtabliſhed, and has been puſhed to an extravagant exceſs for our lady of Loretto.

The biſhop of Straſburgh purchaſes, at a very dear rate, the title of landgrave of Lower Alſatia; he is oppoſed by the landgraves of Alſatia, of the houſe of Oettingen, and purchaſes his peace, as he did his title, with money.

A great diviſion between the houſes of Bavaria and Auſtria, cauſed by a woman. Margaret of Carinthia, widow of Henry the Old, duke of Bavaria, ſon of the emperor Lewis, foe to the houſe into which ſhe married, gives all her rights upon Tirol and its dependencies to Rodolphus, duke of Auſtria.

Stephen, duke of Bavaria, makes alliance with ſeveral princes. The Auſtrian has no perſon of his party but the archbiſhop of Saltzburg. They conclude a three years treaty, but their ſecret enmity is more laſting.

1363.

Charles IV. as ſedentary now as he had been active in his youth, remains always at Prague.

Italy

Italy is entirely abandoned; each lord there buys the title of vicar of the empire.

Barnaby Viſconti ſtill bears a grudge to Bologna, and is maſter of many towns in Romagna.

The pope, at that time, Urban V. obtains very eaſily from the emperor ineffectual orders to the vicars of the empire. It is related, that Barnaby at length ſells his poſſeſſions in Romagna for 500,000 florins of gold to the pope; but was it eaſy for Urban at Avignon to find ſuch a ſum?

1364.

It is alſo related, that Charles intended to turn the Danube by Prague; more incredible ſtill than the pope's 500,000 florins. The water muſt be brought over the mountains, barely to make a canal from the Danube to Moldau in Bohemia; and beſides, it depends on the houſe of Bavaria, which commands the courſe of the river. Charlemagne's project of joining the Danube and the Rhine in a flat country was much more practicable.

1365.

A plague that broke out in France, amidſt the terrible wars of Edward III. and Philip de Valois, ſpreads itſelf into Germany. Several vagabonds who had deſerted from theſe armies, which were ill paid, and as badly diſciplined, joining with other rogues, make excurſions into Lorrain and Alſatia, where they find all the paſſes open, they are called *Malandrins**, never welcome, &c. The emperor is forced to

* *Malandron* is a Spaniſh word moſt uſed in romances, ſignifying a robber, from *mal* and *ander*, evil-going.

march

march againſt them upon the Rhine with the troops of the empire; they are driven thence, they ravage France and Holland, like locuſts laying waſte all before them, without any diſtinction.

Charles IV. viſits pope Urban V. at Avignon. He endeavours a holy war, rather to prevent the Turks, who had already taken Adrianople, from oppreſſing Chriſtianity, than to recover Jeruſalem.

A king of Cyprus, who beholds the danger more nearly, ſolicits this holy war alſo at Avignon. Several cruſades had been purſued from time to time, when the Muſſulmans were ſcarcely formidable in Syria, but now that Chriſtianity is ſhaken, they are laid aſide.

The pope, after having propoſed the cruſades with proper decorum, makes a ſerious treaty with the emperor for the ſurrender of his uſurped patrimony to the holy ſee. He grants to the emperor the tenths upon the clergy of Germany; Charles IV. can ſerve himſelf by going to Italy, to recover the proper dominions of the emperor, and not to ſerve the pope.

1366.

The Malandrins return again upon the Rhine, and commit devaſtations even to the gates of Avignon. This is one of the reaſons that oblige Urban V. to take ſhelter in Rome; after the popes had been for ſixty-two years retired to the borders of the Rhone. The Viſcontis, more dangerous than the Malandrins, poſſeſs all the openings of the Alps; they had invaded Piedmont, and threatened Provence. Urban having only the emperor's word for aſſiſtance, embarks on board a galley belonging to

to the guilty and unfortunate Joan queen of Naples.

1367.

The emperor excuſes himſelf from aſſiſting the pope, to be a ſpectator of the war made in the Tiroleſe between the houſes of Auſtria and Bavaria. And pope Urban the Vth, after having made ſome uſeleſs alliances with Auſtria and Hungary, gives at length a ſight of a pope to the Romans, on the 16th of October. He is received only as the firſt biſhop of Chriſtianity, and not as a ſovereign.

1368.

The town of Friburg in Briſgau, which had endeavoured to gain its freedom, falls again into the power of the houſe of Auſtria, by the ceſſion of a count Egnon, who had taken it under his protection; and withdraws it for twelve thouſand florins.

The re-eſtabliſhment of the popes at Rome does not prevent the Viſcontis ruling in Lombardy; where they were near reviving a monarchy more powerful and extenſive than that of the ancient Lombards.

The emperor goes at laſt into Italy to the aſſiſtance of the pope, and rather indeed to that of the empire; he had a formidable army, in which there was ſome artillery.

This frightful invention began now to be eſtabliſhed; it was as yet unknown among the Turks, againſt whom it had been employed; they had been eaſily driven out of Europe, but Chriſtians as yet only uſe it againſt Chriſtians.

To ſupport the faith in Italy, the pope on one ſide wins the duke of Auſtria; on the other, the emperor; each with a puiſſant army; it was this

ſort

ſort of conduct that loſt the liberty of Italy, nay of the pope himſelf. It has been the fatality of this beautiful but unhappy country, that the popes have ſtill called in ſtrangers to their aid, who would, if poſſible, have carried it away with them.

The emperor pillages Verona; the duke of Auſtria Vicenza; the Viſcontis immediately ſue for peace, to wait better times; the war ends in a ſum given to Charles, who goes to Rome to be conſecrated, according to the uſual ceremonies.

1369.

A diet at Frankfort. A ſevere edict forbidding the towns and princes from making war of themſelves. The edict is no ſooner publiſhed, than the biſhop of Hildeſheim, and Magnus, duke of Brunſwick, having each many lords of his party, are involved in a bloody war.

It could ſcarcely happen otherwiſe in a country where the very few good laws are without force. And this continual anarchy ſerves as an excuſe for the emperor's inactivity. He ought to hazard every thing; or remain altogether quiet; and he chuſes the latter.

Urban V. having brought the Auſtrians and Bohemians into Italy, who returned home loaden with ſpoil, now calls in the Hungarians againſt the Viſcontis; there wanted only Turks.

The emperor, to ward off this fatal blow, reconciles the Viſcontis with the holy ſee.

1370.

Waldemar, king of Denmark, expelled Copenhagen by the king of Sweden and by the

count of Holſtein, takes refuge in Pomerania. He aſks aſſiſtance of the emperor, who gives him letters of recommendation. He applies to pope Gregory XI. who returns him exhortations, and menaces of excommunication; writing to him as to his vaſſal. It is pretended Waldemar anſwered him thus:

"My life I hold of God; my crown of my ſubjects; my eſtates of my anceſtors; my faith only of your predeceſſors; which, if you have a mind to make uſe of it, I ſend you back by theſe preſents." This letter is ſurely apocryphal.

King Waldemar re-enters his dominions, without any aſſiſtance, by the diſunion of his enemies.

1371.

Germany, though as yet in a ruſtic ſtate, nevertheleſs poliſhes Poland. Caſimir, to whom had been given the ſurname of Great, begins to build ſome towns after the German faſhion, and introduces ſome laws of Saxon right into his own country, which wants laws.

A particular war between Wenceſlaus, duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, brother to the emperor, and the dukes of Juliers and of Gueldres; in which all the lords of the Low Countries take part.

Nothing more ſtrongly characterizes the fatal anarchy of theſe times of rapine. The ſubject of this broil was a troop of highwaymen, protected by the duke of Juliers: and unhappily ſuch an example was not uncommon in thoſe days.

Wenceſlaus, vicar of the empire, willing to puniſh the duke of Juliers, is defeated and taken in battle.

The

The conqueror, fearing the emperor's reſentment, haſtens to Prague, accompanied by many princes, and, above all, by his priſoner: "I return you, ſaid he to the emperor, your brother; forgive me both."

One ſees many events of theſe times thus intermixed with robbery and heroiſm.

1372.

The edicts againſt theſe wars having proved ineffectual, a new diet at Nuremberg ordains that no prince or town ſhould for the future make war before the expiration of ſixty days from the receipt of the offence. This was called the ſixtieth law of the empire; and was always duly obſerved, when more than ſixty days were requiſite to prepare for attacking the enemy.

1373.

For a long time paſt the affairs of Naples and Sicily have had no connection with thoſe of the empire. The iſle of Sicily was at preſent occupied by the houſe of Arragon, and Naples by queen Joan; both, at this time, were fiefs. The houſe of Arragon had ſubmitted, by treaty, ever ſince the Sicilian veſpers, to hold it of the crown of Naples, which was held of the holy ſee.

The view of the houſe of Arragon in paying a vain homage to the crown of Naples, was to become independent of the Roman court, and had ſucceeded therein when the pope was at Avignon.

Gregory XI. ordains that the king of Sicily ſhall henceforth pay homage to the king of Naples and the pope at the ſame time. He revives the antient law, or rather proteſt, diſabling the

king of Sicily, or Naples, from ever being emperor; and adds, that theſe kingdoms ſhall be incompatible with thoſe of Tuſcany and of Lombardy.

Charles abandons all his affairs in Italy; entirely taken up with inriching himſelf in Germany, and eſtabliſhing his houſe. He buys the electorate of Brandenburg from Otho of Bavaria, who poſſeſſed it, to appropriate it to himſelf and his family. This caſe was not ſet down in the golden bull. He at length gives this electorate to his eldeſt ſon Winceſlaus, afterwards to a younger, Sigiſmund.

1374.

The holy ſee had been long at Avignon. Urban the fifth dies, when at Rome but a very little time. Gregory the eleventh determines to re-eſtabliſh the popedom in his native country.

Such princes and towns as ſtood poſſeſſed of the counteſs Matilda's eſtates, enter into an alliance againſt the pope, who was willing to return into Italy. The moſt part of the towns, at length, ſet up their ſtandards, and over their gates the great word, *Libertas*, as it is yet to be ſeen at Lucca.

1375.

The Florentines began to act in the ſame manner in Italy, as the Athenians had formerly done in Greece. All the polite arts that were entirely unknown before, revive at Florence. The factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines during the diſturbances they created in Tuſcany, had ſtirred up genius and courage; it was liberty elevated them. This people was the moſt re[illegible], and leaſt ſuperſtitious, of any in Italy, and

and the leaſt inclined to obey either the popes or emperors. Pope Gregory excommunicated them. It was a little ſtrange, that theſe excommunications, to which they had been ſo often accuſtomed, ſhould ſtill make ſome impreſſion.

1376.

Charles procures his ſon Wenceſlaus to be proclaimed king of the Romans at Ments, upon the Rhine, the ſame place where he himſelf had been choſen.

All the electors are there in perſon. His ſecond ſon Sigiſmund aſſiſts, as elector of Brandenburg, tho' but a child. The father having lately transferred that title from Wenceſlaus to Sigiſmund. He had, for his own part, his voice of Bohemia. Five electors were then to be gained. It is ſaid, and many hiſtorians aſſure us of it, that he promiſed to each one hundred thouſand florins of gold. It is not at all likely, that each received the ſame ſum; neither is it likely, that the five princes were mean enough to receive it; indiſcreet enough to talk of it; or that the emperor ſhould boaſt of his having corrupted the votes.

So far was he from giving money to the elector Palatine, that he ſold to him at the ſame time Ghottenburg, Falkenburg, and other domains. He alſo ſold, indeed at a very indifferent price, ſome of the royal prerogative to the electors of Cologn and of Mentz. Thus did he gain money, and ſpoiled the empire in ſecuring it to his ſon.

1377.

Charles the IVth, aged 64, undertakes a journey to Paris; and it is added, that it was to have

the conſolation of ſeeing the king of France, Charles the Vth, who loved him tenderly; and the reaſon of this tenderneſs for a monarch that he had never ſeen, was his having eſpouſed formerly one of his aunts. Another reaſon alledged for this journey, is his being afflicted with the gout, and his having promiſed *Mr. St. Maurus*, a ſaint in the neighbourhood of Paris, to make a pilgrimage to him, on horſeback, for his cure. The true reaſon was diſguſt, uneaſineſs, and a cuſtom in thoſe days eſtabliſhed for princes to viſit each other. He goes at length from Prague to Paris, accompanied by his ſon Wenceſlaus king of the Romans. He ſcarcely ſees a finer country than his own from the frontiers to Paris. Paris deſerves not his curioſity. The old palace of St. Lewis, which ſtill ſubſiſts, and the caſtle of the Louvre, which is no more, are not worth the trouble of the journey. In Tuſcany only they were emerging from barbarity, nor had architecture been as yet reformed.

If there was any thing ſerious in this journey, it was the office of the vicar of the empire, in the antient kingdom of Arles, which he gave to the Dauphin. It was a long time a queſtion among the civilians, whether Dauphiny ought to be always held of the empire; but it has not, a great while ſince, been one among ſovereigns. It is true, that the laſt Dauphin Humbert, in ceding Dauphiny to the ſecond ſon of Philip of Valois, ceded it with the ſame right with which he poſſeſſed it. It is moreover true, that they pretend Charles IV. himſelf had renounced all his rights; but yet they were not the leſs inſiſted upon by his ſucceſſors. Maximilian the firſt always claimed the dependence of Dauphiny.

But

But this right muſt have been very little minded, ſince Charles V. in obliging Francis I. his priſoner, to cede Burgundy to him by the treaty of Madrid, makes not the leaſt mention of the homage due to the empire on account of Dauphiny. All the ſequel of this hiſtory ſhews how time changes rights.

1378.

A French gentleman, named Enguerant de Couci makes uſe of the emperor's journey to France to prefer a very ſtrange requeſt, that of making war upon the houſe of Auſtria; he was great grand-ſon of the emperor Albert of Auſtria by his mother, the daughter of Leopold. He demanded the eſtates of Leopold, as not being maſculine fiefs. The emperor grants him entire permiſſion. He never conſidered, how it was poſſible for a private gentleman of Picardy to levy an army. Couſcy, nevertheleſs, has one pretty conſiderable, furniſhed by his relations and friends; by the reigning ſpirit of heroiſm; by ſome of his patrimony, which he ſold, and by the hope of plunder; which engages many people in extraordinary undertakings.

He marched towards ſuch parts of Alſatia and Swiſſerland, as belong to the houſe of Auſtria. But not having wherewithal to pay his troops; and ſome contributions gathered about Straſburg, not being ſufficient to enable him to keep the field any long time, his army ſoon diſperſed, and his project was at an end. The fate of this gentleman was no more than what happens to all great princes, even now, who raiſe forces too haſtily.

The beginning of the great SCHISM in the West.

GREGORY XI. at length, after having seen Rome in 1377, and brought back the pontifical see from Avignon, where it had been settled seventy-two years, dies on the 27th of March, anno Domini 1378.

The Italian cardinals now prevail, and chuse an Italian pope: it was Prignano, a Neapolitan, a man fierce and impetuous; he takes the name of Urban. Prignano Urban, in his first consistory, declared he would do justice on Charles V. king of France, and Edward III. king of England, who disturbed the peace of Europe. Cardinal de la Grange, shaking his hand at him, answered him that "He lied." Two words that plunge Christianity in a war of more than thirty years continuance.

Most of the cardinals, irritated at the pope's violent and intolerable temper, retire to Naples, declare the election of Prignano Urban as forced and void; and chuse Robert, son of Amadeus III. count of Geneva, who assumes the name of Clement; and establishes an anti-roman see at Avignon. Europe is divided. The emperor and Flanders join the latter; Hungary, which belongs to the emperor, acknowledges Urban.

France, Scotland, and Savoy, are for Clement. One may easily judge, by the side taken by each power, that all acted upon interested principles. The name of a pope is but a word of raillery.

Queen Joan of Naples acknowledges Clement, because she had been formerly protected by

by France, and becauſe this unfortunate queen had called Lewis of Anjou, brother of Charles V. to her aſſiſtance.

Wenceſlaus duke of Luxemburg dying without iſſue, leaves all his fiefs to his brother, and after him to Wenceſlaus king of the Romans.

The emperor Charles IV. dies ſoon after; leaving Bohemia with the empire to Wenceſlaus; Brandenburg to his ſecond ſon Sigiſmund; Luſatia, and the two duchies of Sileſia, to John his third ſon.

It happens, notwithſtanding the golden bull, that he has benefited his family much more than Germany.

WENCESLAUS.

THIRTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1379, 1380, 1381, 1382.

THE reign of Charles IV. which had been much complained of, and ſtill is blamed, is an age of gold, when compared to the times of Wenceſlaus his ſon.

He begins by waſting his father's treaſures in debaucheries at Frankfort and Aix la Chapelle; without giving himſelf any trouble about his patrimony, Bohemia, deſolated by the plague.

At the latter end of the year all the Bohemian lords revolt againſt him; he ſees himſelf all of a ſudden beſet, without daring to hope for any aſſiſtance from the empire; and obliged to march againſt his Bohemian ſubjects; the reſt of thoſe

banditti called Malandrins, who ranged Europe, ſeeking the ſervice of ſuch princes as would employ them, ravage Bohemia for their pay. Europe, in the mean time, is torn to pieces by the ſchiſm between the two popes. Which melancholy diſpute, at laſt, coſt the unfortunate Joan queen of Naples her life.

Now that there were no hopes, it was made a point of religion as well as policy to ſide with one of them. He was certainly wiſeſt who acknowledged neither. Joan queen of Naples had unfortunately declared for Clement, at a time that Urban had it in his power to hurt her. She was accuſed of having aſſaſſinated her firſt huſband, Andrew of Hungary, and living then quietly with Otho of Brunſwick her preſent ſpouſe.

Urban, poſſeſſed, as yet, of ſome power in Italy, ſtirs up againſt her Charles de Durazzo, under pretence of revenging the fate of her firſt huſband.

Charles de Durazzo comes into Hungary to aſſiſt the anger of the pope, who had promiſed him the crown. What is moſt terrible in this affair is, that he had been adopted by queen Joan, who was now far advanced in years. He had been declared her heir, yet preferred ſtripping her, who had been to him as a mother, of crown and life, rather than wait till nature and time gave him the crown.

Otho of Brunſwick, who fights in his wife's behalf, is made priſoner along with her. Charles de Durazzo cauſes her to be ſtrangled. Naples had, ſince the days of Charles of Anjou, become a theatre of wicked attempts againſt their crowned heads.

1383.

1383. 1384. 1385. 1386.

The imperial throne becomes at preſent a ſcene of horror and contempt. In Bohemia nothing to be ſeen but ſeditions againſt Wenceſlaus. All the members of the houſe of Bavaria reunite to declare war againſt him. This is a crime by the laws. But there are no longer laws.

The emperor has no other way of aſſuaging this ſtorm, than in reſtoring to the count Palatine of Bavaria the towns of the higher palatinate, which Charles IV. had ſeized when that prince had been diſtreſſed.

He cedes other towns to the duke of Bavaria, as Mulberg and Bernau. All the towns on the Rhine, of Suabia, and Franconia, league againſt him. The princes bordering on France receive penſions. To Wenceſlaus remains the bare title of emperor.

1387.

While an emperor thus debaſes himſelf, a woman immortaliſes her name. Margaret of Waldemar, queen of Denmark and of Norway, becomes by victories and election queen of Sweden. This grand revolution reſpects Germany no farther than as this heroine is fruitleſly oppoſed by the princes of Mecklenburgh, the counts of Holſtein, the towns of Hamburgh and of Lubeck.

The alliance of the Swiſs cantons ſtrengthens them for the preſent, and they grow always ſtronger by war. It was now ſome years ſince the canton of Bern had engaged in this union. Duke Leopold bends his views to the taming theſe people. He attacks them, and loſes the battle with his life.

1388.

The leagues of the towns of Franconia, Suabia, and the Rhine, might form a people free, as the natives of Switzerland, especially under a reign so confused as this of Wenceslaus: were there not too many chiefs; too great a variety of particular interests; besides the nature of their situation, open on every side, did not permit them to separate themselves from the empire like the Swiss.

1389.

Sigismund, the brother of Wenceslaus, gains some glory in Hungary. He was only the husband of the queen, whom the Hungarians had called King Mary; a title they have revived, not long since, in favour of Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles the VI. Mary was young, and the states had no mind her husband should govern: they had rather commit the regency to Elisabeth of Bosnia, mother of their King Mary: so that Sigismund found himself only the husband of the princess under tuition, to whom was awarded the title of King.

The states of Hungary are discontented with the regency; and do not entirely chuse to serve Sigismund. They offer the crown to Charles de Durazzo, a man used to strangle queens, who arrives and is crowned.

The regent and her daughter disguise their sentiments, watch their opportunity, and cause him to be assassinated before them. The palatine of Croatia sets himself up to be judge of the two queens; he causes the mother to be drowned, and the daughter to be imprisoned. It is now that Sigismund shews himself worthy of reigning; he levies troops in his electorate of Brandenburg,

denburg, and in the dominions of his brother. He defeats the Hungarians.

The palatine of Croatia delivers up his wife, having made her promise, he should be continued in his government. Sigismund crowned king of Hungary, does not believe himself obliged to observe his wife's word; and causes the palatine of Croatia to be quartered in the town of the five churches.

1390.

During these horrors the great schism in the church increases: it might have been extinguished after the death of Urban, by acknowledging Clement; but at Rome they chose one Peter Tomasselli, who was not received in Germany, because France had acknowleged Clement. He requires the annates, or first year's profit of the benefices; which Germany pays, and murmurs. . . . . .

It looks as if they determined to make the Jews repay them what they had advanced to the pope. Almost all the inland trade was conducted by them, in spite of the Hans-towns. They imagined them so rich in Bohemia, that they murdered and destroyed them every-where. The same was done in many towns, and above all at Spire.

Wenceslaus, who was sparing of his edicts, issued one annulling all debts due to the Jews: imagining thus to conciliate the nobility and people.

From 1391 to 1397.

The town of Strasburg is so powerful, as to support a war against the elector Palatine, and his bishop, on account of some fiefs. It incurs the

the imperial ban, and is quit for 30,000 florins paid to the emperor's profit.

Three brothers, dukes of Bavaria, enter into compact, by which every Bavarian prince is thenceforth bound neither to ſell or give up his tenure to any but his nigheſt relation; and not to diſpoſe of it to a ſtranger without the conſent of every member of the houſe: here is a law, which might be inſerted in the golden bull, much to the advantage of the firſt families in Germany.

Each ſovereign and each town take the beſt care poſſible of their mutual affairs.

Wenceſlaus, ſhut up in Prague, commits many actions of barbarity and madneſs; there were, particularly, times in which he was quite beſide himſelf. This is an effect of exceſs in eating and drinking, which attends more people than one may imagine.

Charles VI. of France was, in the mean time, attacked with a diſorder of nearly the ſame nature; loſing often the uſe of reaſon. The antipopes divide the church and indeed Europe. By whom or how was the world at this time governed?

Wenceſlaus, in one of his fits, threw the monk John Nepomucene into the Moldau, where he was drowned, becauſe he had refuſed to tell him what the queen his wife had confeſſed to him. It is ſaid he ſometimes walked the ſtreets attended by the public executioners, and put to death on the ſpot ſuch people as he diſliked. The magiſtrates of Prague cauſe him to be ſeized as a common malefactor, and thrown into a dungeon.

They

They permit him baths for the recovery of his health and ſenſes.

He eſcapes with one ſervant-maid, whom he makes his miſtreſs. He ſhuts himſelf up in Beraun. Here was a fair opportunity for Sigiſmund his brother king of Hungary to have himſelf acknowledged king of Bohemia; nor does he let it ſlip; but he could only get himſelf declared regent. He ſhuts up his brother in the caſtle of Prague; from whence he ſends him to duke Albert of Auſtria at Vienna, and returns to Hungary to oppoſe the Turks, who began to extend their conqueſts on that ſide.

Wenceſlaus makes another eſcape from his new priſon, and once more reaches Prague; and, what is wonderful, finds there ſome partizans.

What is ſtill more aſtoniſhing is, that Germany does not interfere in the leaſt in the emperor's affairs, neither when he is in a dungeon at Prague nor Vienna, nor yet when he returns home to Bohemia.

1398.

Is it credible, that Wenceſlaus, in the midſt of the infamy and turns of ſuch a life, ſhould propoſe a meeting at Rheims in Champagne, with Charles IV. king of France, to put an end to the ſcandals of ſchiſm?

And at Rheims the two monarchs meet: it is remarked, that at a feaſt given here by the king of France to the emperor and to the king of Navarre, a patriarch of Alexandria who was preſent took the firſt place at table. It is alſo remarked, that one morning Wenceſlaus was found drunk by thoſe who went to conſer with him on the buſineſs of the church.

The

The univerſities begin now to gain ſome credit, becauſe they were new, and had no authority in the church. That of Paris was the firſt which propoſed a demiſſion of the papacy, and the election of a new pope. And it was debated that the king of France ſhould obtain the demiſſion of his pope Clement; and that Wenceſlaus alſo ſhould engage for his pope doing the ſame.

Neither of the pretenders choſe to reſign. They were the ſucceſſors of Clement and Urban. The firſt was Tomaſelli, who, being elected on the death of Urban, aſſumed the name of Boniface; the ſecond was Pedro de Luna, a native of Arragon, who was called Benedict, and fixed his reſidence at Avignon.

The court of France keeps its word with the emperor; propoſes to Benedict his abdication, which he refuſing, is kept priſoner five whole years in his caſtle at Avignon.

Thus the court of France, in not acknowledging a pope during five years, ſhewed that the church could ſubſiſt without a pope.

It was ſaid that Wenceſlaus could drink with his pope, but not treat with him.

1399.

He finds at length a ſpouſe, Sophia of Bavaria, notwithſtanding his having haſtened the death of his firſt with ill treatment. He is not known to relapſe into any of his fits of frenzy after this match; and minds nothing but, like his father Charles IV. heaping up money *.

* All the other hiſtorians ſay, that, far from heaping up money, he became ſo extravagant, that all his revenues were inſufficient to defray the monſtrous expence of his houſekeeping.

He ſells every thing, and at laſt diſpoſes of the emperor's title to Lombardy unto Galeazo Viſconti, declaring it, according to ſome authors, intirely independent of the empire, for one hundred and fifty thouſand golden crowns. No law prevents the emperor from theſe alienations. Had there ſubſiſted any, Viſconti would never have hazarded ſo conſiderably.

The miniſters of Wenceſlaus, who pillage Bohemia, incline to levy exactions upon the province of Miſnia; about which complaints are made to the electors; and ſtraightway theſe princes, who had taken no ſteps againſt Wenceſlaus when he was made, aſſemble to depoſe him.

After many aſſemblies of electors, princes, and deputies of towns, a ſolemn diet is held at Lanſtein near Mentz. The three eccleſiaſtical electors, together with the Palatine, formally depoſe the emperor in the preſence of many princes, who only aſſiſt as witneſſes. The electors having the ſole right of chuſing, draw from it the neceſſary concluſion of their having the ſole right of vacating. They revoke the alienations that had been purchaſed from the emperor; but this makes not Viſconti leſs abſolute from Piedmont to the gates of Venice.

The act of depoſing Wenceſlaus bears date the 20th of Auguſt in the morning. The electors a few days after chuſe for emperor Frederick duke of Brunſwick, who is aſſaſſinated by a count Waldeck, while preparing for his coronation.

ROBERT,

ROBERT,

Count Palatine of the Rhine.

THIRTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1400.

ROBERT, count Palatine of the Rhine, is elected at Rens by the ſame four electors. His election could not poſſibly have been on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, as hath been aſſerted, becauſe Wenceſlaus was depoſed on the 20th, and there muſt certainly have been more than two days conſumed in chuſing the duke of Brunſwick, preparing for his coronation, and aſſaſſinating him.

Robert, according to cuſtom, preſents himſelf armed at the gates of Frankfort, and makes his entry there at the end of ſix weeks and three days. This is the laſt example we have of this cuſtom.

1401.

Some princes and towns ſtill hold out for Wenceſlaus, as a few Romans regretted Nero. The magiſtrates of the free town of Aix-la-Chapelle ſhut their gates againſt Robert, who wanted to be crowned there. He remains at Cologne with the archbiſhop.

To gain the Germans he is willing to recover the Milaneſe for the empire, from which Wenceſlaus had divided it. He forms an alliance with the towns of Swiſſerland and Suabia, as if he was only a prince of the empire, and raiſes troops againſt Viſconti. The circumſtance of things was favourable. Venice and Florence

Florence were already arming againſt the formidable power of his new duke of Lombardy.

Being in Tirol, he ſent a challenge to Galeazo; beginning, "To John Galeazo, count of Verona," &c. to which was anſwered, "To you, Robert of Bavaria, we duke of Milan, by the grace of God, and of Wenceſlaus," &c. After which he promiſes to beat him, and keeps his word, in the defiles of the mountains.

Several princes, who had accompanied the emperor, retire with their few remaining ſoldiers; and Robert at length wanders away alone.

1402, 1403.

John Galeazo remains maſter of all Lombardy, and protector of the neighbouring towns, in ſpite of them.

He dies, leaving, among other children, one daughter, married to the duke of Orleans, the ſource of ſo many unhappy wars.

Upon his death, one of the popes, Boniface, who was neither firmly ſettled in Rome, nor acknowledged by half Europe, makes a ſucceſsful uſe of the hatred, which the conqueſts of John Galeazo had inſpired, and poſſeſſes himſelf, by his intrigues, of Bologna, Peruſa, Ferrara, and of many towns of the antient inheritance of the counteſs Matilda, which the holy ſee had always claimed.

Wenceſlaus, awaking from his lethargy, takes it in his head at laſt to defend the imperial crown againſt Robert. They mutually accept of the king of France's mediation, whom the electors pray to come to pronounce judgment between Wenceſlaus and Robert at Cologne, while

where both ſhould be preſent, and ſubmit themſelves to him.

Very likely the electors aſked the king of France's judgment, becauſe they knew he was not in a condition to give it. The return of his malady hindered him from governing his own dominions. Could he then come to decide between two emperors?

The depoſed Wenceſlaus has now ſome hopes from his brother Sigiſmund king of Hungary, who, by a whimſical chance, is himſelf dethroned, and impriſoned in his own kingdom.

The Hungarians chuſe Ladiſlaus king of Naples for their king, who ſcarcely arrives on the frontiers of Hungary before Naples revolts; and he returns to extinguiſh the rebellion.

Let us here draw a picture of Europe. One ſees her divided by two popes; Germany rent by two emperors; the diſagreement in Italy after Viſconti's death; the Venetians poſſeſſing themſelves of one part of Lombardy; the Genoeſe of another; Piſa ſubject to Florence; horrible troubles in France during the madneſs of the king; civil wars in England; the beſt provinces in Spain over-run by the Moors; the Turks advancing towards Greece; and the empire of Conſtantinople drawing towards a concluſion.

1404.

Robert, nevertheleſs, purchaſes ſome little territories ſurrounding his palatinate; the biſhop of Straſburg ſells him Offenburg, Celle, and other ſignories. This is almoſt all that remains to him of the empire.

The duke of Orleans, brother to Charles VI. buys the duchy of Luxemburg from Joſhua, marquis

marquis of Moravia, to whom Wenceſlaus had ſold it. Sigiſmund had diſpoſed alſo of his right to the homage of it. Thus the duchies of Luxemburg and Milan are, by their new poſſeſſors, looked upon as detached from the empire.

1405.

The new dukes of Luxemburg and of Lorrain go to war without the empire's ſiding with either: had things continued thus a few years longer, there had remained neither empire nor Germanic body.

1406.

The marquis of Baden and the count of Wirtenburg make with impunity a league with Straſburg and the towns of Suabia againſt the imperial authority. The purport of the treaty was, "That in caſe the emperor preſumed to meddle with the rights of any of them, they ſhould unitedly make war upon him."

The Swiſs ſtrengthen themſelves daily. The electors ravage the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria in Sondgau and in Alſace.

1407, 1408.

While the imperial authority daily declines, the ſchiſm of the church continues. No ſooner one anti-pope dies, but his party ſet up another. Theſe ſcandals would have made all people ſhake off the yoke of Rome, had they been more reaſonable and ſpirited, and had not the princes always had it in their heads to have a pope of their party, that they might have ſomething of the arms of religion therewith to oppoſe their enemies. This is the real reaſon of the many leagues that have been known between the ſee of Rome and many kings; of ſo many

many contradictions; excommunications demanded privately by ſome, and deſpiſed by others.

The church began already to dread learning, wit, and the polite arts: they had travelled from the court of Robert king of Naples to Florence, where they had erected their empire. The growing emulation of the univerſity began to clear up ſome knotty points: one half of Italy was at enmity with popes; nevertheleſs the Italians, more prudent than other nations, never eſtabliſhed any ſect againſt the church. They often made war upon the Roman court, but never on the Roman church. The Albigenſes and the Vaudois had now begun to appear near the frontiers of France. Wickliff roſe up in England *. John Hus, a doctor of the new univerſity of Prague, and confeſſor to the queen of Bohemia, wife of Wenceſlaus, having read Wickliff's manuſcripts, preached up his opinions at Prague. Rome did not expect even the firſt rays of erudition coming from a country which ſhe had ſo long ſtiled barbarous. The doctrine of John Hus conſiſted chiefly of giving to the church certain rights, which the holy ſee pretended to reſerve to herſelf.

The times are favourable. There has been, ever ſince the birth of ſchiſm, a ſucceſſion of anti-popes on each ſide; and it was extremely difficult to know on which ſide was the Holy Ghoſt.

* Wickliff, who was principal of Baliol college, in Oxford, wrote and preached againſt the infallibility and ſupremacy of the pope, the temporal power of eccleſiaſtics, the order of Mendicants, auricular confeſſion, and the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation.

The eccleſiaſtical throne being thus ſplit in two, each half is confuſed and bloody. The ſame fate attends thirty epiſcopal ſees. A biſhop, confirmed by one pope, diſputes his cathedral ſword in hand with one approved of by another.

At Liege, for example, there are two biſhops who ſtir up a bloody war. John of Bavaria, choſen by a part of the chapter, contends with one elected by another part; and as the oppoſed popes had only bulls to beſtow, John of Bavaria calls into his ſuccour John duke of Burgundy with an army. In fine, to ſettle which ſhall have the cathedral of Liege, the town is ſacked, and almoſt reduced to aſhes.

So many evils, which in general it is impoſſible to remedy until they come to extremes, at laſt produce the council of Piſa, whither ſeveral cardinals retiring, ſummon the reſt of the church. This council is afterwards transferred to Conſtance.

1409.

If there was a poſſibility of extinguiſhing the ſchiſm, which had ſo long raged over Chriſtian Europe, in a legal and canonical manner, it was by the authority of this council.

Two anti-popes, the ſucceſſors of two anti-popes, lend their names to this civil and ſacred war. One is the fierce Peter de Luna; the other Corrario, a Venetian.

The council of Piſa declares them both unworthy of the papal throne. Twenty-four cardinals, with the conſent of the council, chuſe Philargi, a native of Candia, on the 17th of June, 1409. Philargi, the lawful pope, dies in about ten months. All the cardinals that are now at Rome unanimouſly elect Balthazar Coſſa,

Coſſa, who aſſumes the name of John XXIII. He had been brought up in the church and in arms. Being made a deacon from a pirate, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his progreſs on the coaſt of Naples in favour of Urban. He had, ſome time ſince purchaſed, at a very dear rate, a cardinal's hat, and a miſtreſs named Catharine, whom he carried off from her huſband. At the head of a ſmall army he recovered Bologna from the Viſconti. He was a ſoldier without morals; but, nevertheleſs, he was a pope canonically elected.

The ſchiſm ſeems now to be ended by the laws of the church; but the politics of certain princes give it ſtill a being, if we can call by the name of politics that ſpirit of jealouſy, of intrigue, of rapine, of fear, and of expectation, which ſets the world in a flame.

A diet was aſſembled at Frankfort in 1409, at which the emperor preſides, and is attended by ambaſſadors from the kings of France, England, and Poland. And what enſues? The emperors ſupport one faction of anti-popes, and France another; the emperor and empire believing the right of aſſembling councils to be theirs. The diet of Frankfort treats the council of Piſa as an unlawful aſſembly, and demands a regular council. Thus it happened that the council of Piſa, when they imagined every thing ſettled, had inſtead thereof left Europe three popes for two.

The canonical pope was John XXIII. choſen ſolemnly at Rome. The two others were Corrario and Peter de Luna. Corrario wandered about from town to town; Peter de Luna was, by order of the court of France, ſhut up in Avignon,

Avignon, where, without acknowledging him, they kept this fantom to produce upon occaſion, in oppoſition to others in the ſame buſineſs.

1410.

While Europe is thus diſturbed by popes, a bloody war breaks out between Poland and the Teutonic knights-maſters of Pruſſia about ſome boats laden with corn. Theſe knights, inſtituted at firſt to ſerve the Germans in their hoſpitals, were at length become a militia ſomething like the Mammelukes.

The knights are defeated: they loſe Thorn, Elbing, and many other towns, which remain in the hands of Poland.

The emperor Robert dies the 10th of May at Openheim. Wenceſlaus ſtill calls himſelf emperor, without performing any of the imperial functions.

JOSHUA.

THIRTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

1410.

WENCESLAUS was no more emperor, except at Prague among his domeſtics. Sigiſmund his brother claims the empire. Joſhua, margrave of Brandenburgh and Moravia, his couſin, alſo demands it.

Joſhua not only diſputes the empire with his couſin, but Brandenburgh alſo.

The elector Palatine Lewis, eldeſt ſon to the laſt emperor Robert, the archbiſhop of Triers,

and the ambaſſadors of Sigiſmund, name Sigiſmund emperor at Frankfort.

Mentz, Cologne, the Saxon ambaſſador, and a deputy from Brandenburgh in favour of Joſhua, elect Joſhua in the ſame town.

Wenceſlaus at Prague proteſts againſt theſe two elections. Germany has now three emperors, as well as the church three popes, without either in reality having one.

SIGISMUND,

King of BOHEMIA and of HUNGARY, Margrave of BRANDENBURG.

THIRTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1411.

BY the death of Joſhua three months after his election, Germany is delivered from a civil war, which he would not have been able by himſelf to ſupport, but which would have been carried on in his name.

Sigiſmund is emperor both nominally and effectually.

This election is confirmed by all the electors the 21ſt of July.

The towns at that time had no biſhops but by the deciſion of battle; for in the canvaſſing elections, John XXIII. approving one biſhop, and Corrario another, produced a civil war, which happened at Cologne as well as at Liege. The archbiſhop Theodoric, of the houſe of Mœurs,

Mœurs, does not take poſſeſſion of his ſee till he had defeated his competitor, who was of the houſe of Berg, in a bloody battle.

The Teutonic knights take up arms againſt Poland. They are ſo formidable, that Sigiſmund leagues privately with Poland againſt them. Poland at length cedes Pruſſia to the knights, and the grand-maſter becomes inſenſibly a conſiderable ſovereign.

1412.

The great ſchiſm of the Weſt is in ſome meaſure an embaraſſment to Sigiſmund: he ſees himſelf king of Hungary, margrave of Brandenburg, and emperor: titles he would willingly confirm to his poſterity. The Venetians, having aggrandized themſelves much, had, in the time of a cruſade, conquered part of Dalmatia: he defeats them at Frial, and joins that part of Dalmatia to Hungary.

On the other hand, Ladiſlaus, or Launcelot, that king of Hungary whom he had expelled, makes himſelf maſter of Rome, and of all the country to Florence. Pope John XXIII. had at firſt, like his predeceſſors, called him in to his defence, and by that means given himſelf a dangerous maſter, fearing he ſhould have found one in Sigiſmund. This forced ſtep of John ſoon coſt him the pontifical chair.

1413.

John XXIII. to extirpate ſchiſm and confirm his own election, transfers the remainder of the council of Piſa to Rome, where he ought to have had more ſtrength. The emperor convokes a council at Conſtance to deſtroy the pope. One ſees few Italians popes that are eaſily duped. This one was entirely duped, both

by Sigiſmund and the king of Naples, Ladiſlaus, or Lancelot. This prince, now maſter of Rome, became his enemy, and the emperor ſtill more ſo. The emperor writes to the anti-popes, to Peter de Luna, now at Arragon, and to Corrario, who had taken refuge at Rimini; but both theſe fugitive popes proteſt againſt the council of Conſtance.

Launcelot dies. The pope, delivered from one of his maſters, ought not to have put himſelf into the hands of another. He goes to Conſtance, hoping the protection of Frederick duke of Auſtria, inheritor of the Auſtrian hatred to the houſe of Luxemburg. This prince in his turn, protected by the pope, accepts of him, *in partibus*, the title of General of the Troops of the Church, and with it a penſion of ſix thouſand golden florins, as vain as his commiſſion. The pope unites himſelf alſo to the marquis of Baden, and ſome other princes. At laſt he enters Conſtance the 28th of October, attended by nine cardinals, in great ſtate.

In the mean time Sigiſmund is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and all the electors aſſiſt at the imperial feaſt in their proper ſtations.

1414.

Sigiſmund arrives at Conſtance on Chriſtmas-day; the duke of Saxony carrying the ſword of the empire naked before him; the burgrave of Nuremberg, whom he had made governor of Brandenburg, bearing the ſcepter. The golden globe was born by his ſtep-father the count de Cillei, this not being an electoral office. The pope attended at church, where the emperor aſſiſts at maſs in quality of deacon. He reads the goſpel; but no feet are kiſſed, no

ſtirrup

ſtirrup is held, nor is there a horſe led by the bridle. The pope preſents him with a ſword. There were three thrones erected; one for the emperor, one for the pope, and one for the empreſs; the emperor being in the middle.

1415.

John XXIII. promiſes to reſign the papal chair, in caſe the anti-popes ſhould alſo quit theirs, and provided, "that his reſignation every way appeared to contribute to the utility and welfare of the church." This laſt clauſe ruined him. He was either forced to this declaration, or the buſineſs of a pirate had ſpoiled him for a pope. Sigiſmund kiſſed John's feet as ſoon as John had read him the particular form. And this loſt him the papacy.

Sigiſmund is eaſily maſter of the council by ſurrounding it with ſoldiers. Here he appeared in all his glory: there were preſent the electors of Saxony, of Mentz, and the elector Palatine; the governor of Brandenburg; the dukes of Bavaria, Auſtria, and Sileſia; 108 counts; 200 barons, who at this time were ſomething, and twenty-ſeven ambaſſadors, who there repreſented their ſovereigns. They vied in luxury and magnificence, as may be eaſily inferred by the number of jewellers, being 500, who came at this time to Conſtance. There were alſo reckoned 500 muſicians; and what the cuſtoms of theſe times make very credible, there were 718 courtezans protected by the magiſtrate of the town.

The pope is obliged to fly, in the diſguiſe of a poſtillion, to the territories of John of Auſtria, count of Tirol. This prince is forced

to deliver up the pope, and to aſk the emperor's pardon upon his knees.

Whilſt the pope is priſoner in a caſtle belonging to his protector the duke of Auſtria, they prepare his proceſs. He is accuſed of every crime, depoſed on the 29th of May, and the council, by the ſentence, reſerves to itſelf the right of puniſhing him.

The 6th of July, of the ſame year 1415, John Hus, confeſſor to the queen of Bohemia, and doctor in divinity, is burnt alive by ſentence of the fathers of the council, notwithſtanding a very formal protection that Sigiſmund had granted him. The emperor delivers him into the hands of the elector Palatine, who gives him up to execution, he continuing to praiſe God till his life was ſtifled by the flames.

Theſe are the principal propoſitions for which he was condemned to this horrid puniſhment. "That there is but one catholic church, which contains in her boſom all the choſen." "That temporal lords ought to oblige prieſts to obſerve the law; and that a pope is not the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt."

"*Do you believe the univerſale à parte rei?* ſays a cardinal to him. *I believe the univerſale à parte mentis*, anſwered John Hus: *You don't believe, in the real preſence then!* cried the cardinal. It is manifeſt that they intended to burn John, and they did it."

1416.

Sigiſmund, after the condemnation of the pope and of John Hus; taken up with the glory of extirpating ſchiſm, prevails upon the kings of Caſtile, of Arragon, and of Navarre, at Narbonne,

bonne, to renounce their obedience to Peter de Luna.

He goes thence to Chamberi, in order to erect Savoy into a duchy, and gives the inveſtiture of it to Amadeus VIII.

He goes to Paris, ſits in the king's place, in the parliament, where he makes a knight. It is ſaid that this was too much, and that the parliament was blamed for having allowed it. Why ſo? If the king had given him his place he ought alſo to approve of his conferring an honour which was barely titular.

He goes from Paris to London. He is received at his landing by the nobility, who advance in the water ſword in hand to meet him, to do him honour, and at the ſame time to admoniſh him, that he was not to act as maſter. This is an acknowledgement of the right which he has in the opinion of ſome people to the great name of Cæſar.

He ſaid, that he came to London, to negotiate a peace between France and England. It was in thoſe moſt unhappy times of the French monarchy, that the Engliſh king, Henry V. inſiſted upon France by conqueſt and inheritance.

The emperor, inſtead of making peace, joins England againſt unhappy France. He has ſome advantage in Hungary. The Turks, who had ravaged the empire of the Caliphs, and threatened Conſtantinople, over-ran the earth even from India to Greece. They laid waſte Hungary and Auſtria; but as yet, theſe were but the incurſions of a band of robbers. Troops are ſent againſt them, and they retreat.

Whilſt Sigiſmund is on his voyage, the council, after having burnt John Hus, ſearch out another victim in the perſon of Jerome of Prague. Jerome of Prague, a diſciple of John Hus, was greatly his ſuperior in wit and eloquence. He had at firſt ſubſcribed to the condemnation of his maſter, but was afterwards aſhamed of it. He looked upon this recantation as his only crime and ſubmitted to death with the ſame intrepidity on the firſt of June, 1416. Poggio, the Florentine, ſecretary to John the XXIII. and one of the reſtorers of letters, who was preſent at the trial and puniſhment of Jerome, ſays, that he ſpoke with the eloquence of Socrates, and braved the flames, as Socrates drank hemlock.

Socrates indeed and theſe two Bohemians, were condemned becauſe they were hated by the ſophiſts of their reſpective times. But what a difference between the manners of the Athenians and thoſe of the Chriſtians of the 15th century! between the mild death of Socrates and the dreadful puniſhment of fire, into which prieſts are caſt by prieſts!

The popes having pretended to judge of princes, and to depoſe them when they could, the council, without a pope, imagined they had the ſame rights. Frederick of Auſtria, having taken ſome towns near Tirol, which the biſhop of Trent, whom he kept priſoner, reclaimed, the council order him to give up the biſhop and the towns, under penalty of being deprived, not only himſelf, but his children and grandchildren, of all the fiefs of the church and of the empire. This Frederick of Auſtria, ſovereign of Tirol, flies from Conſtance; his brother

brother Erneſt ſeizes on Tirol, and the emperor puts Frederick under the imperial ban. Matters are made up about the end of the year, Frederick is re-inſtated in Tirol, and his brother Erneſt keeps in Styria, which was his portion; but the Swiſs, who had ſeized ſome towns belonging to the duke of Auſtria, refuſed to give them up, and ſtrengthen'd their league.

1417.

The emperor returns to Conſtance, where, with great pomp, he gives the inveſtiture of Mentz, Saxony, Pomerania, and other principalities, an inveſtiture which muſt be taken at every change of an emperor or of a vaſſal.

He ſells his electorate of Brandenburg to Frederick de Hohenzollern burgrave of Nuremberg for four hundred thouſand golden florins, which the burgrave had amaſſed, and which in thoſe times was a very conſiderable ſum. Some authors ſay, it was only one hundred thouſand, and are the more credible.

Sigiſmund, by contract, reſerves to himſelf the right of repurchaſing Brandenburg for the ſame ſum, in caſe he ſhould have children.

In the ſentence pronounced by the council in the preſence of the emperor againſt pope Peter de Luna, he is declared *perjured, a diſturber of the public peace, an heretic, forſaken of God, and obſtinate.* The title of obſtinate was the only one that he truly merited among them.

The emperor propoſes to the council to reform the church before they create a pope. Many prelates exclaim againſt him as an heretic, and they make a pope without reforming the church.

Twenty-three cardinals and thirty-three prelates of the council, deputies of different nations, aſſemble in a conclave. This is the only example we have of other prelates, beſides cardinals having a right to vote ſince the ſacred college had reſerved to itſelf the election of popes; for Gregory III. was choſen by the voice of the people.

On the eleventh of November Otho de Colona is choſen, who changes that great name to Martin. The conſecration of this pope was above all others auguſt. The reins of his horſe, as he went to church, was held by the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg. He was followed by one hundred princes, the ambaſſadors of all the kings, and by the intire council.

1418.

In the midſt of this great proviſion of the council, and ſuch apparent pains to reſtore peace to the church, and the empire to its dignity, how was Sigiſmund principally employed? in amaſſing money.

Not content with having ſold his electorate of Brandenburg, he haſtened, during the holding of the council, to ſell, for his own uſe, ſome towns that had been confiſcated, to Frederick of Auſtria. The agreement made, reſtitution ought to have enſued; the delay of which, and his continual want of money, tarniſhed his glory.

The new pope Martin V. declares Sigiſmund king of the Romans, by ſupplying the defects of formality which are found in his election of Frankfort.

The

The pope having promiſed to labour for the reformation of the church, publiſhes ſome conſtitutions reſpecting the revenues of the apoſtolical chamber, and the habits of the clergy.

He grants to the emperor a tenth of the eccleſiaſtical income in Germany, during one year, to indemnify him from the expences of council, and Germany murmurs at it.

The troubles are appeaſed this year in Holland, Brabant, and Hainault. All that is important for hiſtory to remark is, that Sigiſmund acknowledges the province of Hainault not to be held of the empire. Another emperor may afterwards admit the contrary. Hainault another time was, as has been ſeen, held for a little while of the biſhop of Liege.

As feudal right is not a natural right, it being no more than a pretenſion to land cultivated by another, but not the poſſeſſion of a land which we cultivate ourſelves, it has been the ſubject of a thouſand undetermined diſputes.

1419.

Very great troubles kindle in Bohemia. The aſhes of John Hus and Jerome of Prague excite commotions.

The partizans of theſe two unfortunate men endeavoured to maintain their doctrine and revenge their death. The celebrated John Ziſka puts himſelf at the head of the Huſſites, and endeavours to make uſe of the opportunity given him, by the weakneſs of Wenceſlaus, the fanaticiſm of the Bohemians, and the growing hatred of the people to the clergy, in order to form a powerful party, and eſtabliſh himſelf a government.

Wenceſlaus dies in Bohemia almoſt forgotten. Sigiſmund has the empire now entirely to himſelf. He is king of Hungary and Bohemia, and lord paramount of Sileſia. Had he not diſpoſed of his electorate of Brandenburg he might have founded the moſt powerful houſe in Germany.

1420.

It is againſt this puiſſant emperor, that John Ziſka riſes, who makes war upon him in his hereditary dominions. The monks were oftenеſt victims in this war, and with their blood paid the cruelty of the fathers of Conſtance.

John Ziſka inflames all Bohemia. There were at this time great troubles in Denmark, on account of the duchy of Sleſwick. King Eric ſeizes upon this duchy; but the wars of the Huſſites are much more important, and more nearly concern the empire.

Sigiſmund beſieges Prague, John Ziſka puts him to the rout, and obliges him to raiſe the ſiege. A prieſt marches with him at the head of the Huſſites, who bears a chalice in his hand, as a mark of acting in a double capacity.

A month after, John Ziſka beats the emperor again. This war continued 16 years: had not the emperor violated his own protection, ſo many misfortunes could never have happened.

1421.

There had been now for many years no cruſades but againſt Chriſtians. Martin V. cauſed the Huſſites to be preached againſt in Germany, inſtead of granting the communion with wine.

A biſhop of Triers marches at the head of an army of holy men againſt John Ziſka, who having

having with him little more than 200 men, cuts them in pieces.

The emperor marches again towards Prague, and is again beaten.

1422.

Coribut prince of Lithuania joins Ziſka, in hope of becoming king of Bohemia. Ziſka, who really merited to be ſo, threatens to leave Prague.

The word Ziſka ſignifies Blind in the Sclavonian tongue, and thus they called this warrior, as Horatius had formerly been named Cocles. He really merited the title of Blind, having loſt both his eyes; and this John the Blind was quite a different ſort of man from the other John the Blind, who was father to Sigiſmund. He believed there was a poſſibility of his reigning, notwithſtanding that he had loſt his eyes, while he could conquer and behead of a party.

1423.

The emperor, driven out of Bohemia by the avengers of John Hus, had recourſe to his old ſtratagem of ſelling provinces. He ſold Moravia to Albert, duke of Auſtria; this was diſpoſing of what the Huſſites poſſeſſed. Procopius, the Shaven, becauſe he was a prieſt, a very great warrior, becoming the eye and the arm of John Ziſka, defends Moravia againſt the Auſtrians.

1424.

Ziſka, the Blind, ſupports himſelf not only againſt the emperor, but againſt Coribut, who from his defender, was become his rival. He routs Coribut, after having defeated the emperor.

Sigiſmund

Sigiſmund might nevertheleſs have profited by this civil war amongſt his enemies, but he is engaged at the ſame time at a wedding. He aſſiſts at the nuptials of a king of Poland at Preſburg, with great ſtate, while Ziſka drives out his rival Coribut, and enters Prague in triumph.

Ziſka dies in the army, of a contagious diſorder. Nothing is better known than the diſpoſal he is pretended to have made of his body on his death-bed. "Let me be left, ſays he, in the open field. I had rather be eaten by birds than by worms. Let a drum be made of my ſkin; the very ſound of it will put our enemies to flight."

His party does not die with him. It had been formed by Fanaticiſm, and not by Ziſka. Procopius, the Shaven, ſucceeds to his government and reputation.

1425, 1426.

Bohemia is divided into many factions, but all unite againſt the emperors, who cannot repair the ruins of this country. Coribut returns and is declared king. Procopius makes war at the ſame time with the uſurper and with Sigiſmund.

In fine, the empire furniſhes an army of an hundred thouſand men to the emperor, and this army is entirely defeated. They ſay that the ſoldiers of Procopius, who were called Taborites, uſed two-edged axes in this battle, and that by this novelty they gained the victory.

1427.

While the emperor Sigiſmund is driven out of Bohemia, and that the embers of John Hus ſet this country, Moravia and Auſtria, in a flame,

flame, the wars between the king of Denmark and Holſtein continue. Lubec, Hamburg, Wiſmar, and Stralſund, declare againſt him. And what was the authority of the emperor Sigiſmund? He ſides with Denmark, he writes to the towns to induce them to lay down their arms, and they pay no attention to him. He ſeems to have loſt his credit, not only as king of Bohemia, but alſo as an emperor.

He marches once more an army into his own country, and this army is again beaten by Procopius. Coribut, who calls himſelf king of Bohemia, is put into a convent by his own party, and the emperor has no longer any friends in Bohemia.

1428.

It is plain that Sigiſmund was badly ſuccoured by the empire, and that he could not raiſe men in Hungary. He was burdened with titles and with misfortunes. At length he opens a conference at Preſburg, to make a peace with his ſubjects. The party named the Orphans, who were the moſt powerful at Prague will liſten to no accommodation, but anſwer, *than a free people have no buſineſs with a king.*

1429, 1430.

Procopius, the Shaven, at the head of an army of his brethren, not unlike that which Cromwell afterwards formed, followed by the Orphans, the taborites, and the prieſts, who carried the chalice, continued to beat the imperialiſts. Miſnia, Luſatia, Sileſia, Moravia, Auſtria, and Brandenburg, are laid waſte. A great revolution was now to be feared. Procopius makes uſe of his baggage by way of intrenchment againſt the German cavalry, with

ſucceſs. Theſe entrenchments were called Tabors; he goes on with theſe Tabors, and penetrates to the confines of Franconia. The princes of the empire, involved in wars among themſelves, could not oppoſe theſe irruptions. What has the emperor then to do? He had not known what it was to hold a council, and admit the burning of a couple of prieſts.

During theſe troubles Amurath II. ravages Hungary. The emperor endeavours to engage to his aſſiſtance the duke of Lithuania, and to create him king: But he cannot come to the ſpot; the Polanders prevent him.

1431.

He again ſues to the Huſſites for peace; which he cannot obtain; and his troops are again twice beaten. The elector of Brandenburg and the cardinal Julian, the pope's legate, are a ſecond time defeated at Kiſemberg, and that in ſo complete a manner, that Procopius appears to be maſter of the intimidated empire.

At length the Hungarians, whom Amurath II. had left to breathe, march againſt the conqueror, and ſave Germany, which had otherwiſe been laid waſte.

The Huſſites repulſed at one place, are formidable in all others. The cardinal Julian, not being able to carry on the war, calls a council, and propoſes admitting the Huſſite prieſts.

The council opens at Baſil the twenty-third of May.

1432.

The fathers give paſsports for two hundred people, to the Huſſites.

This

This council of Baſil, held under Eugene IV. was no other than a prolongation of ſeveral others, ſummoned at different times by Martin V. to meet at Pavia and Sienna. The fathers began with declaring that the pope had no right either to diſſolve their aſſembly or tranſfer it; and that he ought to ſubmit to them, on pain of puniſhment. The councils regarded themſelves as general ſtates of Europe, judges of popes and kings. They had dethroned John XXIII. at Conſtance, and they intend the ſame compliment for Eugenius IV. at Baſil.

Eugenius, who believed himſelf above the council, diſſolves it; but in vain. He finds himſelf cited to appear there, rather than to preſide; and Sigiſmund takes that opportunity to get himſelf crowned in Lombardy, and afterwards, tho' to no purpoſe, at Rome.

He finds Italy powerful and divided. Philip Viſconti reigns over the Milaneſe, and over Genoa, the unfortunate rival of Venice, which had loſt her liberty, and now only ſought for maſters. The duke of Milan and the Venetians diſpute about Verona, and other frontiers. The Florentines ſide with the Venetians. Lucca and Sienna declare for the duke of Milan. Sigiſmund is too happy in being protected by this duke, in his journey to Rome, to receive the vain crown of emperor. He then takes part with the council againſt the pope, as he had done before at Conſtance. The fathers proclaim his holineſs a contemner of the court, and give him ſixty days for his appearance, after which they depoſe him.

The fathers of Baſil reſolved to imitate thoſe of Conſtance. But their examples deceived them.

them. Eugenius was powerful at Rome, and the times were no longer the ſame.

1433.

The deputies of Bohemia are admitted to the council. John Hus and Jerome of Prague were burned at Conſtance; their followers are reſpected at Baſil, where their voices are admitted. The Huſſite prieſts who come hither, march only in the train of Procopius the Shaven, who approaches with three hundred armed gentlemen; and the fathers cry out: "This is the conqueror of the church and of the empire." The council allow them the cup at their communion, and they diſpute about the reſt. The emperor arives at Baſil, where he with great calmneſs ſees his conqueror, and is taken up with a proceſs againſt the pope.

While they argue at Baſil, the Huſſites of Bohemia, joining the Polanders, attack the Teutonic knights, and each party believes itſelf engaged in a holy war. Every ravage is renewed; the Huſſites make war among themſelves.

Procopius quits the council he had intimidated, to go againſt the oppoſite party in Bohemia, and to be beaten. He is killed in a battle near Prague. The victorious faction do what the emperor had never dared to have done. They condemn a great number of priſoners to the ſtake. Theſe heretics ſo long armed, to revenge their deceaſed apoſtle, now caſt each into the flames.

1434.

If the princes of the empire left their chief in a time when he could not revenge himſelf, they never neglected the public good. Lewis

of

of Bavaria, duke of Ingoldſtad, having tyrannized over his vaſſals, being deteſted by his neighbours, and not ſufficiently powerful to defend himſelf, is put under the ban of the empire; and is favoured by giving ſome money to Sigiſmund.

The emperor was, at that time, ſo poor, that he gave up things of the greateſt conſequence for the moſt trifling ſums.

The laſt electoral branch of Saxony, of the antient houſe of Aſcania, dies, without leaving any children. Many relations lay claim to Saxony. And to obtain this duchy, it coſts the marquis of Miſnia, Frederick the Warlike, an hundred thouſand florins.

1435.

The emperor retires to Hungary, to negotiate with his ſubjects of Bohemia. The ſtates preſcribe the conditions according to which they chuſe to be reconciled, and ſtipulate, among other things, that he ſhall not alter their coin any more. This is a clauſe to his ſhame; but a ſhame common to the princes of thoſe times. The people ſubmit to their ſovereign, neither to be tyrannized over nor fleeced.

At laſt the emperor having accepted the conditions, the Bohemians ſubmit themſelves to him and to the church. Here is a true contract between the king and his people.

1436, 1437.

Sigiſmund re-enters Prague, and receives homage again; as newly holding his crown from the choice of the nation. After having appeaſed other troubles, he cauſes duke Albert of Auſtria his kinſman to be acknowledged in Bohemia as heir of the kingdom. This is the

the laſt event of his life, which happened in December 1437.

ALBERT II. of AUSTRIA.

THIRTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1438.

IT then began to appear that the houſe of Auſtria would become the moſt powerful in Europe. Albert II. kinſman to Sigiſmund, ſees himſelf king of Bohemia and Hungary, duke of Auſtria, ſovereign of ſeveral other territories, and emperor. He was king of Hungary and Bohemia by election; but when the father and grandfather have been once elected, it is eaſy for their deſcendants to ſet themſelves up an hereditary right.

The party of the Huſſites who were called Calixtins, chuſe for king Caſſimir brother to the king of Poland, and he muſt fight. The emperor, commanded by Albert the Achilles, then Burgrave of Nuremberg, and afterwards elector of Brandenburg, ſecures the Bohemian crown to Albert II. duke of Auſtria, by repeated victories.

In the great diet of Nuremberg the ancient tribunal of the Auſtrégues is reformed. This was a remedy found out, as has been ſeen, to prevent the effuſion of blood in the quarrels of the lords of the empire. The offended were to name three princes as arbitrators, who ought to be approved of by the ſtates of the empire, and give judgment within a year.

Ger-

Germany is divided into four parts, called circles, Bavaria, the Rhine, Suabia, and Weſtphalia. The electoral territories are not compriſed within theſe four circles. Each elector, from his own dignity, governing his territories without ſubjecting them to this regulation. Each circle has a duke or general, and each member of the circle is taxed to a certain degree, either in men or money, for the public ſecurity.

In this diet they aboliſh an old law which ſtill ſubſiſted in ſeveral parts of Weſtphalia, and being contradictory to all law, was unworthy the name of one. It was called the Secret Judgment, and condemned a man to death, without his knowing any thing of the matter.

This manner of judging, which is little better than aſſaſſinating, has been uſed in many ſtates, but more particularly in that of Venice, when any preſſing danger, or the intereſt of the ſtate, which is ſuperior to all law, can give countenance to ſuch barbarity. All ill-founded tradition would fain perſuade us, that Charlemagne I. eſtabliſhed this bloody tribunal, to keep the conquered and headſtrong Saxons within due bounds. Some judges of Weſtphalia ſtill made uſe of this cruel cuſtom: All the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne ought to bluſh to have left the honour of ſuppreſſing it to Albert of Auſtria.

1439.

The council of Baſil continued ſtill on the one hand to trouble the Weſt; on the other the Turks and Tartars, who diſpute the Eaſt, carry their devaſtations to the frontiers of Hungary.

The Greek emperor, John Paleologus, who had ſcarce any more dominions left than Conſtantinople,

ſtantinople, vainly imagines it in his power to obtain ſuccour of the Chriſtians; he humbles himſelf ſo far as to come to Rome, to ſubmit the Greek church to the papal juriſdiction.

John Paleologus and his patriarch were received in the council of Ferrara, a council ſet up by Eugenius IV. in oppoſition to that of Baſil. The Greek emperor and his clergy, in their ſubmiſſion, really maintain, to all appearance, the majeſty of their empire, and the dignity of their church. Neither of theſe fugitives kiſſed the pope's feet; they deteſted this ceremony, received by the emperors of the Weſt, who call themſelves the ſovereigns of the popes. Nevertheleſs, they had, in the firſt ages, kiſſed the feet of the Greek biſhops.

Paleologus and his prelates follow the pope from Ferrara to Florence. There it is ſolemnly decided and agreed upon, by the repreſentatives of the Latin and Greek churches, "That the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son by the production of inſpiration; the Father communicates every thing to the Son, except his paternity; and that the Son, from all eternity, has had a productive virtue, whereby the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Son, as from the Father."

The ſubmiſſion of this primacy was a great, intereſting, and glorious point for the ſee of Rome. On the 6th of July the pope was ſolemnly acknowledged for head of the univerſal church.

This union of the Greeks and Latins was ſoon after diſavowed by the whole Greek church; but the victory of pope Eugenius was not for this the leſs glorious. While he renders this ſervice

ſervice to the Latins, and finiſhes, to the beſt of his power, the ſchiſms of the Eaſt and Weſt, the council of Baſil depoſe him from the papal chair, declaring him Rebellious, Simoniac, Schiſmatical, Heretical, and Perjured.

If we conſider the council according to this decree, they will appear only as a troop of factious ſpirits: if we regard the rules of diſcipline which they laid down, then will they appear to us as very wiſe men, and this is becauſe in their depoſition of Eugenius, they were influenced only by paſſions which had no ſhare in their regulations. The moſt auguſt body, when carried away by paſſions, always commits more faults than a ſingle man.

It ought not here to be forgotten, that Paleologus, at his return to Conſtantinople, was become ſo odious to his own church for having ſubmitted to that of Rome, that his own ſon refuſed him burial.

Nevertheleſs, the Turks advanced even to Semandria in Hungary. In the midſt of theſe alarms, Albert of Auſtria, from whom much was expected, dies on the 27th of October, leaving the empire weak as he had found it, and Europe unhappy.

FREDERIC of AUSTRIA.

Third of that name.

THIRTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

1440.

THERE is a meeting at Frankfort, as uſual, for the electing a king of the Romans. The ſtates of Bohemia, who were without a ſovereign, enjoyed in common with the other electors, a right to vote, a privilege which never had been given to any but Bohemia.

Lewis, landgrave of Heſſe, refuſes the imperial crown. Hiſtory furniſhes many examples of the ſame nature. The empire had now for a long time been looked upon as a dowerleſs ſpouſe, who had need of a very rich huſband.

Frederic of Auſtria, duke of Stiria, ſon of Erneſt, who was much leſs powerful than the landgrave of Heſſe, is not ſo difficult.

In the ſame year, Albert, duke of Bavaria, refuſes the crown of Bohemia, which was offered to him; but this new refuſal has its foundation upon a motive which princes ought to ſet themſelves as an example. The widow of the emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary, duke of Auſtria, was, after his death, brought to bed of a ſon, named Ladiſlaus. Albert of Bavaria believed that ſome reſpect ought to be paid to the blood of this infant. He looked upon Bohemia as the child's inheritance. He would not deprive him of it. Intereſt does not always ſway ſovereigns. There is alſo ſome honour amongſt them; and they ought to conſider, that when this

this honour is ſecure, it is ſuperior to uncertain dominion.

After the example of the Bavarian, the emperor Frederic III. alſo refuſes the crown of Bohemia. Thus did the precedent of virtue influence. Frederic III. ſcorns to be leſs generous than the duke of Bavaria. He charges himſelf with the guardianſhip of the child Ladiſlaus, who, by birth-right, ought to poſſeſs the Higher Auſtria, wherein is Vienna, and was called to the throne of Bohemia and Hungary by the voice of the people, who in him reſpected the blood whence he ſprung.

The council of Friſingen is held, in which thoſe who are killed in tournament, or who have not been confeſſed within the year, are deprived of burial. Theſe ſtrange and ridiculous decrees have never any force.

1441.

A great diet at Mentz. The anti-pope, Amadeus of Savoy (Felix), created by the council of Baſil, ſends to that diet a Legate à latere, where he was obliged to quit the croſs and purple which Amadeus had beſtowed on him. This Amadeus was a whimſical ſort of a man, who having renounced his duchy of Savoy for the unruffled life of a hermit, quitted his retreat at Ripaille, in order to be pope. The fathers of the council of Baſil had elected him, though he was a ſecular. They have in this violated all cuſtom, and theſe fathers were no longer regarded at Rome but as a ſeditious faction. The diet of Mentz hold the balance between the two popes.

The knights of the Teutonic order govern ſo

deſpotically in Pruſſia, that the people give themſelves up to Poland.

The emperor educates at his court Ladiſlaus the young king of Bohemia, and the kingdom is governed in the name of this young prince; but in the midſt of contradictions and troubles. All the electors and many princes aſſiſt at the coronation of the emperor at Aix la Chapelle. Each of them is followed by a little army. In thoſe days of ceremony they placed their glory in appearing with magnificence and oſtentation; in our days they place it in not appearing at all.

A great example of the liberty of the northern people. Eric king of Denmark and of Sweden, deſigns his nephew to ſucceed him in his throne. The ſtates oppoſe him therein; declaring that by their fundamental laws the crown ought not to be hereditary. Their fundamental laws at this day are very different. They depoſe their old king Eric, who aſpired at being too abſolute, and called to the crown, or rather to the firſt magiſtracy, Chriſtopher of Bavaria.

1443, 1444.

Politics, laws and cuſtoms were then very different from what they are in our days. France in that age was ſeen united with the houſe of Auſtria againſt the Swiſs. The Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII. marches againſt the Swiſs, whoſe liberty France ought rather to defend. Authors ſpeak of a great victory gained by the Dauphin near Baſil; if he had gained ſuch a great battle, how happened it that he could not, without ſome difficulty, obtain leave

to

to enter Baſil with his domeſtics? This is certain, that the Swiſs never loſt that liberty for which they fought, and this liberty gained every day additional ſtrength, in ſpite of their diſſenſions.

It was not againſt the Swiſs he ought then to have marched; he ought to have gone againſt the Turks. Amurath II. after having abdicated the empire, reaſſumed it at the intreaty of the Janiſſaries. This Turk, who might be ranked amongſt philoſophers, was numbered with heroes. He puſhed his conqueſts in Hungary. The king of Poland, Uladiſlaus, the ſecond of the Jagellons, cauſed himſelf to be elected by the Hungarians, to the prejudice of young Ladiſlaus of Auſtria, brought up always near the emperor. He had concluded with Amurath the moſt ſolemn peace that ever Chriſtians made with Muſſulmans.

Amurath and Uladiſlaus ſolemnly ſwear to it. The one upon the alcoran, the other upon the goſpel.

Cardinal Julian Ceſarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man famous for his proceedings againſt the partizans of John Hus, for having formerly preſided at the council of Baſil, and for the cruſade, which he had preached againſt the Turks, was at that time, by too blind a zeal, the cauſe of reproach and misfortune to the Chriſtians.

The peace was ſcarcely confirmed before the cardinal excited them to the breaking of it. He flattered himſelf he might have engaged the Venetians and Genoeſe to aſſemble a formidable fleet, and that the rouſed Greeks would make one laſt effort. A pretext for violating the oaths

was wanting. Amurath had obſerved all the conditions with ſuch exactneſs, that he left no ſubterfuge to the infringers. This legate had no other reſource than that of perſuading Uladiſlaus, the Hungarian chiefs, and the Polanders, that they could violate their oath. He harangued, he wrote, he aſſured them that the peace ſworn upon the goſpel was to no effect, becauſe it was made againſt the inclination of the pope. In effect, the pope, who was then Eugenius IV. wrote to Uladiſlaus, "That he commanded him to break a peace, which could not be made without the concurrence of the holy ſee." We already ſee the introduction of that maxim, "That no faith is to be kept with heretics." From whence it is to be concluded, that it ought not to be kept with Mahometans.

Julian at length prevails. All the chiefs allow themſelves to be carried away by the torrent, and above all, John Corvinus Huniades, that famous general of the Hungarian armies, who had ſo often beat Amurath and Mahomet II.

Uladiſlaus, ſeduced by falſe hopes, and ſtill more by falſe morality, ſurpriſes the territories of the Sultan. He is ſoon met near the Uxine bridge, in the country formerly called Mæſia, now called Bulgaria. Battle is given him near the town of the Varna.

Amurath carried in his boſom the treaty of peace they had ſo lately concluded. He drew it out in the midſt of the fight, while his troops were in motion, and prayed God to puniſh the perjured, and revenge this outrage committed againſt the law of nations.

This is what gave riſe to the fable, that the peace

peace had been ſworn upon the euchariſt, that the hoſt had been lodged in the hands of Amurath, and that it was to this hoſt that he addreſſed himſelf in the time of battle. The perjured this time received the chaſtiſement they deſerved, the Chriſtians were vanquiſhed, after a long reſiſtance. King Uladiſlaus was run through the body, his head, cut off by a Janiſſary, was carried, in triumph, from rank to rank through the Turkiſh army, and this ſpectacle finiſhed the rout. Some people have affirmed, that the cardinal Julian, who aſſiſted in this battle, endeavouring, in his flight, to paſs a river, fell in and was drowned by the weight of the gold which he carried about him; others ſay, that the Hungarians themſelves killed him. It is certain that he periſhed in this journey.

1445.

Germany ought to have oppoſed the progreſs of the Ottomans. But at that time Frederick, who had called in the French to his aſſiſtance againſt the Swiſs, ſeeing that his defenders overrun Alſatia and the neighbouring country, goes to chaſe out theſe dangerous allies. Charles VII. reclaims the right of protection in the town of Toul, although it was an imperial town. He exacts, under the ſame title, preſents from Mentz and Verdun. This right of protection upon theſe towns in their indigence, is the origin of that ſovereignty which the kings of France have at length obtained.

Inſtead of carrying on a long, briſk, and well-conducted war againſt the Turks, a ſhort one is made upon the frontiers againſt the French.

The eccleſiaſtical war between the council of Baſil and pope Eugenius IV. ſtill ſubſiſts. Eu-

genius bethinks himſelf of depoſing the archbiſhops of Cologne and Triers; becauſe they had been partizans of the council of Baſil.

He had no right to depoſe them as archbiſhops, and yet much leſs as electors. But what does he do? he names at Cologne a nephew of the duke of Burgundy, and at Triers a natural brother of that prince; for a pope can never be either puiſſant, or have it in his power to hurt, but in arming one prince againſt another.

1446.

The other electors and princes take part with the two biſhops vainly depoſed. The pope had foreſeen this; he propoſes an accommodation, re-eſtabliſhes the two biſhops, he ſooths the Germans; and, in fine, Germany, which had remained neuter in the diſpute between the anti-pope and him, acknowledges Eugenius to be the only lawful pope. The council of Baſil ſoon falls into contempt, and in a ſhort time diſſolved inſenſibly of itſelf.

1447.

A Germanic convocation. This council had nevertheleſs eſtabliſhed certain uſeful regulations, which the Germanic body afterwards adopted; and which it ſupports to this day. The elections in the cathedral churches and abbies are re-eſtabliſhed.

The pope never named prieſts to ſmall benefices but during ſix months of the year.

There is nothing paid to the apoſtolical chamber for ſmall benefices; many other laws of the ſame nature are confirmed by pope Nicholas V. who thereby pays homage to the council of Baſil, which in Rome is looked upon as an unlawful aſſembly.

1448.

1448.

The Sultan, Amurath II. again defeats the Hungarians, commanded by the famous Huniades; yet Germany does not arm itſelf upon theſe dreadful news.

1449.

Germany is taken up with domeſtic wars. Albert the Achilles, elector of Brandenburg, engages in one againſt the town of Nuremberg, which he endeavours to ſubdue; almoſt all the imperial towns join in the defence of Nuremberg, while the emperor remains a quiet ſpectator of theſe diviſions.

He does not chuſe to give the young Ladiſlaus up to Bohemia, where he was demanded; and leaves ſome room to ſuſpect his intending to keep to himſelf the poſſeſſions of his pupil.

This young Ladiſlaus ought to be intirely king of Bohemia, duke of a part of Auſtria, of Moravia, and Sileſia; theſe were, indeed, ſufficient temptations for virtue.

Amadeus of Savoy reſigns the papacy *, and becomes again an hermit at Ripaille.

1450, 1451, 1452.

Bohemia, Hungary, and the Higher Auſtria, again demand the young Ladiſlaus for their ſovereign.

A gentleman, named Eiſinger, ſtirs up Auſtria in favour of Ladiſlaus. Frederic ſtill

* But not before he had endeavoured to bribe the emperor to acknowledge him, with the offer of his daughter, a maiden of exquiſite beauty, and a portion of two hundred thouſand ducats. This propoſal Frederick rejected with diſdain; ſaying to one of his courtiers, by way of pleaſantry, "This man would fain purchaſe holineſs, if he could but find a feller."

excuſes himſelf, under pretence of Ladiſlaus not being as yet of age. He ſends his brother Albert of Auſtria to quell the ſedition, and take hold of that opportunity to be crowned in Italy.

Alphonſo of Arragon reigned at that time in Naples, and joined the intereſt of the emperor, becauſe he feared the too powerful Venetians. They were maſters of Ravenna, of Bergamo, of Breſcia, and of Crema. Milan was in the hands of a peaſant's ſon, who was become the moſt powerful man in Italy. This was Francis Sforza, the ſucceſſor of the Viſconti. Florence was in league with the pope againſt Sforza. The holy ſee had recovered Bologna. All the other principalities belonged to different ſovereigns who had maſtered them. Things were in this ſtate at the journey of Frederick III. into Italy; a journey the moſt uſeleſs and moſt mortifying that ever emperor made. He was attacked by robbers on the road to Rome *. They took part of his baggage, and he ran the riſk of his life. What a manner of travelling was this for him who came to be crowned Cæſar, and chief of the Chriſtian world?

He made one innovation at Rome, ſubſiſting even to this day. Frederick III. dares not to

† Does not Mr. Voltaire mean a tumult at Viterbo, excited by the populace, in order to make prize of the canopy under which the emperor rode, and the horſe on which he was mounted? On this occaſion he ſnatched a truncheon from one of his attendants, and, charging the multitude, overturned all that fell in his way. The pope's legates, by whom he was attended, followed his example, as did the gentlemen of his retinue, and, after a long ſcuffle, the mob was entirely routed.

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go to Milan, to propoſe their giving him the crown of Lombardy. Nicolas V. himſelf gives it to him at Rome, and this alone gives the popes a claim to the right of creating the king of the Lombards as they create the kings of Naples.

The pope confirms to Frederick III. the guardianſhip of young Ladiſlaus, king of Bohemia and Hungary, and duke of Auſtria, a guardianſhip of which endeavours had been uſed to deprive him, and the pope excommunicates all thoſe who had diſputed it with him.

This bull is all that the emperor carried with him from Rome, and with it he is beſieged at Neuſtadt in Auſtria, by thoſe whom he called rebels; that is to ſay, by thoſe who demanded his pupil.

He at laſt gives up the young Ladiſlaus to his people. He has been a good deal praiſed for being a faithful tutor, although he reſigned his charge but by force of arms. Would they have made it a virtue in him not to have attempted his pupil's life?

1453.

This year was the memorable epocha of the taking of Conſtantinople by Mahomet II. Certainly now or never was the time for cruſades. But it is not aſtoniſhing that the Chriſtian powers, who had themſelves, in their antient cruſades, wreſted Conſtantinople from its lawful maſters, ſhould at length ſuffer it to be taken by the Ottomans. The Venetians had been a long time poſſeſſed of part of Greece; all the reſt was in the hands of the Turks. There remained but one town, and that the capital of this ancient empire, now beſieged by

more than 200,000 men, and in this very town they diſputed about religion. One of the points of diſputation was, whether it was allowed them to pray in Latin; another, whether the light upon mount Tabor was created or eternal; another, if they might be allowed to uſe unleavened bread.

The laſt emperor Conſtantine had always near him the cardinal Iſidore, whoſe preſence alone angered and diſcouraged the Greeks: "We had rather," ſay they, "behold the turban here, than the cardinal's hat." All the hiſtorians, and even the moſt modern, repeat ſome old ſtories that were then trumped up by the monks. Mahomet, according to them, was only a Barbarian, who deſtroyed Conſtantinople by fire and ſword, and who being in love with a captive, one Irene, cut off her head, to ſatisfy his Janiſſaries. This is all equally falſe; Mahomet was better brought up, more poliſhed, and underſtood more languages than any Chriſtian prince of thoſe times. There was only a part of the town taken by aſſault by the Janiſſaries. The conqueror generouſly granted a capitulation to the reſt, and faithfully obſerved it. And as to the murder of his miſtreſs, they muſt be very ignorant of the Turkiſh cuſtoms, to imagine that the ſoldiers concerned themſelves with what paſſed in the emperor's bedchamber *.

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* We wiſh Mr. de Voltaire had mentioned the authority on which he contradicts the whole ſtream of hiſtory, in favour of Mahomet II. That this conqueror was a true Turk in cruelty, may be gathered from the following circumſtances, related by Khalkondylas. After having given quarter

A diet is aſſembled at Ratiſbon to endeavour oppoſing the Ottoman arms. Philip duke of Burgundy attends at this diet, and offers to march, if he is ſeconded, againſt the Turks. Frederick was not idle at Ratiſbon, for this very year Auſtria was erected into an archduchy, as the charter proves.

1454.

The cardinal Æneas Silvius, at that time legate in Germany, and afterwards pope, by the name of Pius II. ſolicits all the princes to defend Chriſtianity. He addreſſes himſelf to the Teutonic knights, and reminds them of their vows; but they are too much ingroſſed in fighting with their ſubjects of Pomerania and Pruſſia, who ſhake of their yoke, and give themſelves up to Poland.

1455.

There is no perſon to oppoſe the progreſs of Mahomet II. and, by a cruel fatality, almoſt all the princes of the empire ruin themſelves by civil wars, one againſt another.

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quarter to the grand duke, and promiſed the ducheſs that he would take care of her and her family, he, in the heat of intoxication, ſent his chief eunuch to demand the youngeſt o the grand duke's ſons, a lad of fourteen, extremely beautiful, whom he had deſtined as the object of his unnatural luſt. The duke refuſing to ſurrender his ſon to ſuch brutal proſtitution, Mahomet immediately ordered the grand duke, with his whole family, and all the great men and officers to whom he had given quarter, to be put to death. Beſides, all the world knows, that, as ſoon as he aſcended the throne, he ſent the captain of the Janiſſaries to ſtrangle his brother, an infant in the cradle; and that, through the whole courſe of his life, he was notorious for brutality and breach of faith.

The houſe of Brunſwick was contending for the ſalt-work; the houſe of the Palatinate for the title of elector, which the governor endeavours to aſſume. The duchy of Luxemburg was invaded by the duke of Saxony, and defended by the duke of Burgundy, for 22,000 florins. The affair of the duke of Luxemburg becomes more ſerious than any other; young Ladiſlaus king of Bohemia and Hungary, reclaims that duchy. It does not appear that the emperor takes any part in theſe quarrels. The poſſeſſion of the duchy of Luxemburg remains at length in the houſe of Burgundy.

1456, 1457.

This Ladiſlaus, who might have been a very great prince, dies hated and deſpiſed. He had fled to Vienna when the Turks beſieged Belgrade. He had left the glory of raiſing the ſiege to the celebrated John Huniades, and the friar John Capiſtran. The emperor takes care for him of Vienna and the Lower Auſtria; duke Albert his brother of the Higher, and Sigiſmund, their couſin, of Carinthia.

1458.

Frederic III. vainly endeavours to get Hungary to himſelf; it devolves upon Matthias, ſon of the great Huniades, its defender. He endeavours alſo to reign in Bohemia, and the ſtates elect George Podibrade, who had fought for them.

1459.

Frederick III. oppoſes the ſon of the valiant Huniades, and the brave Podibrade only by artifices, which ſhew his weakneſs, and this weakneſs emboldens the duke of Bavaria, the count Palatine, the elector of Mentz, and many

by other princes, nay even his own brother, to declare war againſt him, in favour of the king of Bohemia.

He is beaten by his brother Albert, and gets out of this difficulty only by giving up ſeveral places in Auſtria. He is vexed by all Germany rather as a member than as principal of the empire.

1460.

The new pope Pius II. late Æneas Silvius, convokes an aſſembly of the Chriſtian princes at Mantua, to form a cruſade againſt Mahomet II. but the misfortune of theſe antient armaments was, that as they had formerly been made without reaſon, they contributed to impede thoſe which were founded upon reaſon. Germany is always divided; for example: A duke of one part of Bavaria, of which Landſhut is the capital, employs his thoughts rather upon ſupporting his antient rights upon Donawert, than on the general good of Europe. And on the contrary, during the madneſs of the antient cruſades, they had ſold Donawert to aſſiſt in going againſt Jeruſalem.

This duke of Bavaria, Lewis, leagues againſt the princes of his houſe; and, together with Ulric count of Wirtemberg, raiſes an army of 20,000 men.

The emperor ſupports the rights of Wirtemberg, which had been long an imperial town, againſt the pretenſions of the duke. He makes uſe of the famous Albert, the Achilles, to quell the duke of Bavaria and his league.

Other troubles are raiſed by the count of Holſtein. The king of Denmark, Chriſtian, poſſeſſes himſelf by right of ſucceſſion alſo of Schleſwick,

Schleſwick, by giving ſome money to the other claimants, and ſubjects Holſtein to the emperor.

1461, 1462, 1463.

Much greater troubles enſue from the quarrel of Bavaria, which rages in Germany; and there are ſtill others cauſed by the diſagreement between the emperor and his brother, Albert duke of Upper Auſtria. The emperor is fain to ſubmit; and is obliged, by agreement, to cede the government of his own territory of that part of Auſtria, in which Vienna is contained, to Lower Auſtria. But the delay of the payment of 40,000 ducats, gave occaſion to renew the war between the two brothers. A battle enſues, and the emperor is beaten.

His friend Albert, the Achilles of Brandenburg, is, notwithſtanding his ſurname, beaten by the duke of Bavaria. Theſe inteſtine troubles eclipſe the glory of the empire, and make Germany truly unfortunate.

1464.

We ſee yet another diſgrace. There has been always a ſort of prejudiced opinion in many nations, that he who poſſeſſed certain particular pledges, or ſigns, had an undoubted right to the kingdom. In the unhappy empire of Greece a garment and a pair of ſcarlet ſlippers were ſometimes ſufficient to conſtitute the emperor. The iron crown of Monza gave a right upon Lombardy; and when rivals diſputed the imperial crown of Germany, he who could ſeize upon thoſe antique arms, the lance and ſword of Charlemagne, was ſecure of the greateſt party. In Hungary he was the beſt off who poſſeſſed a certain golden crown. This ornament was in

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the treaſury of the emperor Frederick, who did not chuſe to part with it at the time that he gave up Ladiſlaus his pupil to the Hungarians.

Matthias Huniades makes a new demand of his golden crown upon the emperor, and declares war againſt him.

Frederick III. at laſt delivers up this palladium of Hungary. They make a treaty which never had any thing like it. Matthias acknowledges Frederick for his father, and Frederick calls Matthias his ſon: nay, it is ſtipulated, that in caſe this pretended ſon dies without children, and without nephew, the pretended father ſhall be king of Hungary. In fine, the father gives the ſon 60,000 crowns.

1465, 1466.

This was a time in which the Chriſtian powers were guilty of many mean actions. There had ſtill ſubſiſted two parties in Bohemia, the Catholics and the Huſſites. King George Podibrade, inſtead of imitating Scanderbeg and the Huniades, favours the Huſſites againſt the Catholics in Sileſia; and pope Paul II. authoriſes the revolt of the Sileſians by a bull. At length he excommunicates Podibrade, who is deprived of his kingdom. Theſe unworthy quarrels take from the Chriſtian cauſe very powerful aſſiſtance. Mahomet II. had no mufti to excommunicaee him.

1467.

The Catholics of Bohemia offer the crown of Bohemia to the emperor; but in a diet at Nuremberg moſt of the princes ſide with Podibrade, in preſence of the pope's legate; and duke Lewis of Bavaria-Landſhut ſays, that, inſtead of giving Bohemia to Frederick, the imperial

crown ought to be given to Podibrade. The diet order that a body of 20,000 men be kept up to defend Germany againſt the Turks. Had Germany been well governed, they had rather oppoſed them with 300,000. The Teutonic knights, who might have imitated Scanderbeg, only fight for Pruſſia; and at length, by a ſolemn treaty, they acknowledge themſelves feudatories of Poland. The treaty was made at Thorn the preceding year, and executed in 1467.

1468.

The pope gives Bohemia to Matthias Huniades, otherwiſe called Corvinus, king of Hungary; that is to ſay, the pope, whoſe great intereſt it was to oppoſe a bulwark to the Turks, eſpecially after the death of Scanderbeg the Great*, inſtead of ſo doing, encourages a civil war amongſt the Chriſtians, and abuſes the emperor and empire, by daring to oppoſe a king who was an elector; for the pope had no more right to depoſe a king of Bohemia, than that prince had to give away the ſee of Rome.

Matthias Hunlades waſtes time, troops, and negotiations, to poſſeſs himſelf of Bohemia. The emperor, with great mildneſs, aſſumes the office of mediator. Some of the princes of

* This was the famous George Caſtriot, ſovereign of Epirus or Albania, who had been ſeized in his infancy, circumciſed, and educated in the Muſſulman religion, by order of Amurath II. who had cauſed his three elder brothers to be put to death. As he grew up, he diſſembled ſo effectually as to eſcape ſuſpicion, and managed matters in ſuch a manner, that he recovered his inheritance from the Turkiſh dominion. Then he renounced the religion of Mahomet, embraced Chriſtianity, and ſignalized his reign by a great number of glorious victories obtained over the Ottoman Porte.

Germany

Germany involve themſelves in war; others are taken up in making treaties. The town of Conſtance forms an alliance with the Swiſs cantons.

An abbot of St. Gal joins Tockemburg to his rich abbey, and it coſts him no more than 40,000 florins. The inhabitants of Liege war unſucceſsfully with the duke of Burgundy. Each prince is in fear of his neighbour. There is no longer an equilibrium. The emperor does nothing.

1469, 1470, 1471, 1472.

Matthias Huniades diſputes ſtill about Bohemia; nor does the ſudden death of Podibrade extinguiſh the civil war. The Huſſite party chuſe Ladiſlaus prince of Poland. The Catholics declare for Matthias Huniades.

The houſe of Auſtria, which ought to be very powerful under Frederick III. for a long time loſes more than it gains. Sigiſmund of Auſtria, the laſt prince of the branch of Tirol, ſells to Charles the Raſh, duke of Burgundy, Briſgau, Suntgau, and the country of Ferrete, which belonged to him, for 80,000 golden crowns. Nothing is more common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, than for ſovereignties to be ſold at a very mean price. This was diſmembering the empire, augmenting the power of a prince of France, who already poſſeſſed all the Low Countries. It was not to be foreſeen, that at ſome time or other the poſſeſſions of the houſe of Burgundy ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria. The laws of the empire forbid theſe alienations; the conſent of the emperor ought moreover to be obtained, and even the aſking of it was neglected.

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At the ſame time Charles duke of Burgundy purchaſed the duchy of Gueldres, and the country of Zutphen, for near the ſame price. This duke of Burgundy was the moſt powerful of thoſe princes who were not kings; nay, few kings were ſo powerful. He was at the ſame time a vaſſal of the emperor and of the king of France, yet very formidable to both.

1473, 1474.

This duke of Burgundy, as enterpriſing as the emperor, was inactive; is uneaſy to all his neighbours at the ſame time. No perſon could have a clearer title to the name of Raſh.

He invades the Palatinate: he attacks Lorrain in Switzerland. It was then that the kings of France treated with the Swiſs for the firſt time. There were yet but eight united cantons, Switz, Uri, Underwald, Lucerne, Zurick, Glaris, Zug, and Berne.

Lewis XI. gave them 20,000 franks a year, and four florins and a half a man per month.

1475.

It has been always the good luck of the Turks, that the Chriſtians were divided among themſelves, as if to facilitate the conqueſts of the Ottoman empire.

Mahomet, maſter of Epirus, of Peloponeſus, and of the Negro-Pont, ſcatters terror everywhere. Lewis XI. thinks of nothing but ſapping the foundation of the duke of Burgundy's grandeur, which had inſpired him with jealouſy. The provinces of Italy were employed in ſupporting themſelves againſt each other, Matthias Huniades was taken up with diſputing Bohemia againſt the king of Poland, and Frederick III. thought of nothing but amaſſing money, that he

he might one day be enabled more firmly to eſtabliſh his power.

Matthias Huniades, after having gained one battle, contents himſelf with Sileſia and Moravia: he leaves Bohemia and Luſatia to the king of Poland.

Charles the Raſh invades Lorrain: he finds himſelf by this uſurpation maſter of one of the fineſt countries in Europe, from Lyons even to the ſea of Holland.

1476.

His ambition is not ſatiated: he wants to reſtore the antient kingdom of Burgundy, and thereby incloſe the Swiſs. Theſe people defend themſelves againſt him, as they had before done againſt the Auſtrians. They defeat him entirely in the battle of Grandion, or of Morat. Their pikes and back-ſwords triumph over the heavy artillery and the ſhining military force of Burgundy. The Swiſs were the only people who at that time fought from no other motive but that of liberty. The princes, nay even the republics themſelves, ſuch as Venice, Florence, and Genoa, had hitherto ſcarcely fought for any thing but their advancement. Never people defended more nobly a valuable liberty than the Swiſs: they were wanting in nothing but hiſtorians.

It was in this battle of Morat that Charles the Raſh loſt that beautiful diamond which afterwards fell into the hands of the duke of Florence. A Swiſs, who found it among the ſpoils, ſold it for a crown.

1477.

Charles the Raſh at laſt periſhes near Nantz: he was betrayed by Campo-Caſſo, a Neapolitan,

tan, and killed in his flight, after the battle, by Bauſmont, a gentleman of Lorrain.

By his death the duchy of Burgundy, the Artois, Charolois, Maçon, Bar-ſur-ſeine, Lile, Doway, and the towns upon the Somme, revert to Lewis XI. king of France, as fiefs to that crown; but Flanders, which was titled Imperial, with all the Low Countries, and the Franche-Comté, devolve upon the young princeſs Mary, daughter to the laſt duke.

The beſt ſtep that could be taken, was Frederick III. marrying his ſon Maximilian to this rich heireſs. Maximilian eſpouſed Mary in the town of Eſſant, on the 17th of Auguſt; and Lewis XI. who ought to have given her in marriage to his ſon, makes war upon him.

The feudal right, which in reality is but the right of the ſtrongeſt, and in its conſequence the ſource of eternal diſcord, kindles this war againſt the princeſs. Ought Hainault to return to France? Is it an imperial province? Has France any rights upon Cambray? Has it any upon the Artois? Ought the Franche-Comté ſtill to be eſteemed a province of the empire? Does it belong to the ſucceſſion of Burgundy, or ought it to revert to the crown of France? Maximilian would have choſen rather the whole inheritance. Lewis XI. is willing to ingroſs all that is convenient for him. It is this marriage then which is really the origin of ſo many unhappy wars between France and Auſtria; there being no acknowledged right, was the occaſion of ſo many people being ſacrificed.

Lewis XI. at length poſſeſſes himſelf of the two Burgundies, and towards the Low Countries

tries of all that he could poſſibly graſp in the Artois, or in the Hainault.

1478.

A prince of Orange, of the houſe of Chalons in the Franche-Comté, endeavours to preſerve this province to Mary. This princeſs defends herſelf in the Low Countries, without her huſband being able to furniſh her any ſuccour from Germany. Maximilian as yet was but the indigent huſband of a ſovereign heroine. He preſſes the princes of Germany to take part in his cauſe. They all rather attend to their own intereſt. A landgrave of Heſſe carries off an elector of Cologne, and keeps him in priſon. The Teutonic knights take Riga in Livonia. Matthias Huniades is upon the point of making it up with Mahomet II.

1479.

At length Maximilian, aſſiſted only by the natives of Liege, puts himſelf at the head of his wife's army, which is called The Flemiſh Forces, although Flanders, properly ſpeaking, that is to ſay from Lile to Ghent, was of the French party. The princeſs Mary had a ſtronger army than the king of France.

Maximilian defeats the French in a battle at Guinegaſte *, in the month of Auguſt. This battle was not one of thoſe which at once determines the fate of a war.

1480.

A negotiation. Pope Sixtus IV. ſends a legate into Flanders: they made a treaty of two

* This is the place at which the Engliſh afterwards defeated the French in an engagement called The Battle of the Spurs, becauſe the French made more uſe of their ſpurs than of their ſwords on that occaſion.

years,

years. Where, all this time, is the emperor Frederick III? He can do nothing for his ſons, neither during the war, nor by negotiations: but he had given him Mary of Burgundy, and that was enough.

1481.

However, the Turks beſiege Rhodes. The famous grand-maſter Daubuiſſon, at the head of his knights, obliges them to raiſe the ſiege at the end of three months.

But the baſha Acomat enters the kingdom of Naples with fifty gallies. He takes Otranto by aſſault. All the kingdom is near being ruined. Rome herſelf trembles. The indolence of the Chriſtian princes eſcapes this torrent only by the ſudden death of Mahomet II. and the Turks abandon Otranto.

A whimſical agreement between John king of Denmark and Sweden, and his brother Frederick duke of Holſtein. The king and the duke ought to govern Holſtein as a fief of the empire, and Schleſwic as a fief of Denmark, in common. All theſe agreements are in general the ſources of war; but this above all others.

The cantons of Friburg in Switzerland, and of Soleuſe, join with the other eight. This by itſelf is but a trifling event. Two ſmall towns cut but a ſmall figure in the hiſtory of the world; but becoming members of a body always free, this liberty ſets them above the greateſt provinces that compoſe it.

1482.

Mary of Burgundy dies. Maximilian governs her poſſeſſions in the name of Philip the Minor, his ſon. Theſe towns are all privi-

ledged.

ledged. Theſe privileges cauſe almoſt perpetual diſſentions between the people who would ſupport, and the ſovereign who would ſubject them to his will. Maximilian reduces Zealand, Leiden, Utrecht, and Nimeguen.

1483, 1484, 1485.

All the towns ſurrender one after another, but without any agreement, and are reduced gradually. The ſeeds of diſcontent ſtill remain.

1486.

So far are they from uniting againſt the Turks, that Matthias Huniades, king of Hungary, inſtead of making a proper uſe of the death of Mahomet II. to the prejudice of the Turks, falls foul of the emperor. What is the reaſon of this war of the pretended ſon againſt the pretended father? It is difficult to gueſs. He wants to poſſeſs himſelf of Auſtria. What right has he to it? His troops beat the Imperialiſts: he takes Vienna. Here is his ſole right. The emperor appears inſenſible to the loſs of Lower Auſtria: he roves about the Low Countries; thence he goes to Frankfort, to ſecure among the electors the title of King of the Romans to his ſon. A man could not have leſs perſonal glory, nor prepare better for the grandeur of his houſe.

Maximilian is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 9th of April, by the archbiſhop of Cologne; pope Innocent VIII. giving his conſent thereto; for the popes always grant what they believe to be neceſſary.

The emperor, who had credit ſufficient in the diet of Frankfort to make his ſon king of the Romans, had not enough to obtain 50,000 florins a month, to enable him to recover Auſtria.

ſtria. This is one of thoſe ſtrange contradictions often to be met with in hiſtory. At this time was made the league of Suabia, to prevent the particular wars which rend and weaken Germany. It was a regulation of all the princes at the diet of Frankfort; a menacing law, which put all thoſe who attacked their neighbours under the ban of the empire. At length all the gentlemen of Suabia aſſociated themſelves to avenge the wrongs done them. This was a piece of true knight-errantry. They went in troops to demoliſh the ſtrong holds of the *Malandrins*, or robbers. They alſo obliged duke George of Bavaria to deſiſt from inſulting his neighbours. This was a militia for the public good. It did not laſt long.

1487.

The emperor makes a treaty with Matthias Huniades, which none but a vanquiſhed man would have made. He leaves to him the Lower Auſtria, until he ſhould pay him all the expences of the war, reſerving to himſelf the right of ſucceeding his adopted ſon in the kingdom of Hungary.

1488.

Maximilian, king of the Romans, finds himſelf at the ſame time attacked by the French, and by his own ſubjects in the Low Countries. The inhabitants of Bruges, on whom he would willingly have levied ſome taxes againſt the laws of the country, all of a ſudden clap him in priſon, where they hold him four months; and give him his liberty only upon condition that he ſhall withdraw the few German troops which he has with him, and make peace with France.

How happened it that the miniſtry of the young Charles VIII. king of France, neglected ſo favourable a conjuncture? This miniſtry was then weak.

1489.

Maximilian ſecretly eſpouſes by proxy the ducheſs Anne of Bretagne. Had he eſpouſed her effectually, and produced children by her, he would have doubly preſſed France, which was ſurrounded at that time by Franche-Comté, Alſatia, Bretagne, and the Low Countries.

1490.

Matthias Corvinus Huniades being dead, let us ſee if the emperor Frederick, his adopted father, ſucceeded him by virtue of treaties. Frederick parts with his right to the emperor Maximilian.

But Beatrix, widow of the former king, makes the ſtates ſwear to acknowledge him only whom ſhe ſhould eſpouſe; and ſoon weds Ladiſlaus Jagellon king of Bohemia, whom the Hungarians crown. Maximilian nevertheleſs recovers Lower Auſtria, and carries the war into Hungary.

1491.

The ſame treaty that Frederick III. made with Matthias is renewed between Ladiſlaus Jagellon and Maximilian. Maximilian is acknowledged preſumptive heir to Ladiſlaus Jagellon in Hungary and Bohemia.

Fate, even at this diſtance, was preparing Hungary for ſubjection to the houſe of Auſtria.

The emperor does a bold action in theſe times of proſperity. He puts his kinſman Albert of Bavaria, duke of Munich, under the ban of the empire. It is aſtoniſhing to think

what a number of princes of this houſe have been thus treated. What was the occaſion of it? Tirol was given ſolemnly to this duke of Bavaria by Sigiſmund of Auſtria, and this donation, or ſecret ſale, was looked upon as the gift of his wife Cunegonda, only daughter of the emperor Frederick III.

The emperor pretended that the empire could not be alienated, and the whole empire was divided upon this queſtion; an indubitable proof that the laws were not at all clear, and perhaps there was nothing ſo much wanting in ſociety.

The ban of the empire was in ſuch caſes no more than a declaration of war; but this was very ſoon concluded. Tirol remained in the poſſeſſion of Auſtria: ſome compenſations are given to Bavaria, and the duke of Bavaria delivers up Ratiſbon, which had been for ſome time in his hands.

Ratiſbon was an imperial town: the duke of Bavaria had looked upon it as part of his eſtate, eſtabliſhing his title upon antient right: it had been newly declared an imperial town: there ſcarcely remained to the duke of Bavaria above one half of the rights of cuſtom.

1492.

Maximilian, king of the Romans, who imagined he might eſtabliſh the grandeur of his houſe upon a peaceable foundation, by marrying his daughter Margaret of Auſtria to Charles VIII. king of France, with whom ſhe was brought up; and ſoon after, by marrying Anne of Bretagne by proxy, learns that his wife is really married to Charles VIII. on the 6th of December, 1491; and that they are about to ſend back his daughter Margaret to him. Wo-

men

men are no longer the ſubjects of war among princes, but the provinces are. As the inheritance of Matilda had ſo long troubled the peace of Italy, ſo does that of Mary of Burgundy kindle perpetual diſcord.

Maximilian ſurpriſes Arras; after which he concludes an advantageous peace, by which the king of France cedes to him Franche-Comté in pure ſovereignty, the Artois, and the Charolois and Nogent, on condition of homage.

It is not to Maximilian properly that theſe countries are ceded, but to his ſon Philip, as the repreſentative of his mother Mary of Burgundy.

It muſt be acknowledged that no king of the Romans ever began his career ſo glorioufly as Maximilian. The victory of Guinégaſte over the French, the taking of Arras, and the obtaining Artois by the ſtroke of a pen, covered him with glory.

1493.

Frederick III. dies the 19th of Auguſt, aged ſeventy-eight. He had reigned fifty-three years. No emperor's reign had been longer, but it had not been the moſt glorious *.

* He was undoubtedly a weak prince, a devotee, and a pedant. He choſe for his device the five vowels, a, e, i, o, u, which he thus explained: *Auſtriæ eſt imperare orbi univerſo*; and this ſome of his ſucceſſors have interpreted into a prophecy, which it is to be hoped will never be fulfilled.

MAXIMILIAN.

FORTIETH EMPEROR.

ABOUT the time of Maximilian's coming to the empire Europe began to wear a very different aſpect. The Venetians at length oppoſed themſelves as a bulwark againſt the Turks, who already poſſeſſed a very large territory. The Venetians ſtill kept Cyprus, Candy, a part of Greece and of Dalmatia: they extended their ſovereignty in Italy; but the town of Venice alone was worth more than all their other dominions; the gold of the world flowing in upon them through the channels of commerce.

The popes were become ſovereigns of Rome, but ſovereigns extremely confined in this capital; and moſt of the territories which had been formerly given them, and which had been always diſputed, were loſt by them.

The houſe of Conzagna poſſeſſed Mantua, a town belonging to the counteſs Matilda, and a fief of the empire which the holy ſee never poſſeſſed. Parma and Placentia, which now belonged to them, were in the hands of the Sforzas dukes of Milan. Ferrara and Modena were ruled by the houſe of Eſte; Bologna belonged to the Bentivoglio; Peruſa to the Baloni; Ravenna to the Polentini; Farenza to the Manfredi; Immola and Forli to the Rimario; almoſt all the patrimony of St. Peter, and that country which is called Romania, was poſſeſſed by particular ſovereigns, the moſt of whom eaſily obtained charters as vicars of the empire.

The

The Sforzas had not, during fifteen years, condeſcended to take this title. Florence had a much finer, that of Free, under the direction, though not in the power, of the Medicis.

The ſtates of Savoy, as yet very much oppreſſed, ſtanding in need of both money and commerce, were then much leſs conſiderable than the Swiſs.

If from the Alps we take a view of France, we ſhall find it begin again to flouriſh. Its members, that had been ſo long divided, reunite and form a powerful body. The marriage of Anne of Bretagne with Charles VIII. compleated the ſtrengthning of this kingdom, which had received ſome conſiderable improvements under Lewis XI. by the acquiſition of Burgundy and Provence. Since the decline of the race of Charlemagne, ſhe had but little influence in the affairs of Europe.

Spain, as yet more unhappy than ſhe had been for near 700 years, at this time began to revive. Iſabella and Ferdinand, after having driven the Moors out of the kingdom of Grenada, extended their views to Naples and Sicily.

Portugal was employed in an enterprize of glory unheard of till that time; ſhe began to open a new channel of commerce to mankind, by teaching a paſſage to the Indies by ſea. Here are the ſources of all the great events that have ſince actuated all Europe.

1494.

The Turks under Bajazet ceaſe not as yet to be terrible, though leſs ſo than under Mahomet. They make incurſions into Hungary and ſome

part of the Auſtrian dominions; but theſe are only a few ſcattered billows, that after the mighty ſtorm contend upon the ſurface. Maximilian goes to ſecure Croatia and Carniola.

He marries at Inſpruc the niece of Lewis Sforza, otherwiſe called Lewis the Moor, the uſurper of Milan, who had poiſoned his pupil the natural heir. This was not the only houſe where crimes had the ſanction of nobility. Money only conſtituted this match. Maximilian weds Blanche of Sforza at once, and gives the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe to Lewis the Moor, which Germany reſents.

At the ſame time Lewis the Moor calls alſo Charles VIII. into Italy, and gives him money. A duke of Milan keeps at the ſame time in pay an emperor and a king of France.

He deceives them both: he believes that he may divide the conqueſt of Naples with Charles VIII. and while Charles VIII. is in Italy, intends that the emperor ſhall invade France. The beginning of the fifteenth century is famous for the deepeſt intrigues and the blackeſt treacheries. It was the criſis of Europe, but above all of Italy, where many petty princes endeavoured to gain by their crimes what they wanted in power.

1495.

A new imperial chamber eſtabliſhed at Frankfort, of which the count de Hohenzollern, the eldeſt of the houſe of Brandenburg, is firſt preſident. It was the ſame chamber which was afterwards transferred to Worms, to Nuremberg, Augſburg, Ratiſbon, and at length to Vetzlar, where ſome proceſſes were determined, which had ſubſiſted ſince its foundation.

Wirtemberg

Wirtemberg erected into a duchy.

A great diſpute, to determine whether the duchy of Lorrain be a fief of the empire. Duke Reignier does homage, and takes an oath of fidelity as duke of Lorrain and Bar; at the ſame time proteſting, that he did it only in conſideration of holding certain fiefs. Which ought to weigh moſt, his homage or his proteſtation?

While Charles VIII. called into Italy by Lewis the Moor, and by pope Alexander IV. rapidly conquers all before him, and makes himſelf maſter of all the kingdom of Naples by means of a baſtard of the houſe of Arragon, this ſame Lewis the Moor, and the ſame pope Alexander IV. league with Maximilian and the Venetians to drive him out. Charles chuſes to wait for them, appearing to be very formidable, though in reality not ſo.

1496.

Maximilian goes into Italy, whence Charles VIII. is driven out. There he found what has been always ſeen there, a ſtrong hatred againſt the French and Germans, defiance and diviſions between the ſeveral powers: but what is moſt to be remarked is, that he arrived there too weakly attended. He had but a thouſand horſe with him, and four or five thouſand infantry: he looked rather like the penſioner of Lewis: he wrote to the duke of Savoy, the marquis of Saluce, and to the duke of Modena, by their preſence to aſſiſt at his coronation at Pavia, which all theſe lords refuſe. Every thing concurs to ſhew him that he came too indifferently attended, and that Italy believed itſelf independent.

Is it the emperor's fault if he has ſo little credit in Italy? it appears not. The princes and diets of Germany ſcarcely furniſh him any ſubſidies. He draws but little aſſiſtance from their territories. The Low-countries belong not to Maximilian, but to his ſon. The voyage to Italy was ruinous.

1497.

The feudal righs is always the occaſion of troubles. A diet at Worms having ordered a ſlight tax for the ſervice of the Empire, the Frieſlanders refuſe to pay it. They always pretend that they are not a fief of the empire. Maximilian ſends the duke of Saxony, in quality of governor, to reduce the Frieſlanders. A people poor and very fond of their liberties, deſcended of the ancient Saxons at Xeaſt, part of whom had fought Charlemagne. They defend themſelves; but not ſo ſucceſsfully as the Swiſs.

1498.

Charles VIII. dies; and, in ſpite of his aſſociations, in ſpite of treaties, Maximilian makes an irruption on the ſide of Burgundy, a fruitleſs irruption, after which they again enter into new treaties. Maximilian perſiſts to reclaim all the ſucceſſion of Mary of Burgundy, for his ſon Philip le Beau.

Lewis XII. gives up many places to this young prince, who pays homage to the chancellor of France at Arras, for the Charolois, Artois, and Flanders; and they mutually agree to ſubmit their pretenſions on the duchy of Burgundy, to the deciſion of the parliament of Paris.

Maximilian treats with the Swiſs, who are looked

looked upon as invincible, in their own territories.

The ten united cantons form a league with the Griſons. Maximilian hopes to regain them by mildneſs. He writes them a ſoothing letter. The Swiſs in their aſſembly at Zurich cry out, that no confidence is to be placed in Maximilian.

1499.

The Auſtrians attack the Griſons. The Swiſs defeat the Auſtrians, and ſupport not only their own liberty, but that of their allies. The Auſtrians are again beaten in three battles.

The emperor at length makes peace with the ten cantons as with a free people.

1500.

The imperial town of Baſil, Schaffhauſen, and Apenzel, join the Swiſs union, which is compoſed of the 13 cantons.

The Aulic council, projected about this time by Maximilian. This is an image of the ancient tribunal which formerly accompanied the emperor. This chamber is approved by the ſtates of the Empire, in the diet of Augsburg. It is permitted to carry cauſes thither, as well as to the imperial chamber; but the aulic council having more power, cauſes its decrees to be better executed, and becomes one of the greateſt ſupports of the imperial power. The form of this chamber was not quite ſettled, till the year 1512.

The Empire is divided into ſix circles, in which the electoral territories are comprized as well as the reſt of the Empire; tho' this regulation had not yet ſufficient force, till twelve years after the diet of Cologn.

Charles V. born in the town of Ghent, the 24th of February being St. Matthias's day. We have remarked this, becauſe the day was always favourable to him. They forthwith give him the title of duke of Luxemburg.

Fortune begins to declare the very ſame year in favour of this child. Don Michael the infant of Spain dies, and the infanta Johanna, mother to the young prince, becomes preſumptive heir to that monarchy.

About this time, the new world was diſcovered, the fruits of which diſcovery Charles the V. was one day to reap.

1501.

Maximilian had been the vaſſal of France for part of the ſucceſſion of Burgundy. Lewis XII. demands, that he ſhould be the ſame for the Milaneſe. He comes from conquering that province under Lewis the Moor, uncle and feudatory of the emperor, without Maximilian's appearing in the leaſt diſturbed at the fate of a country ſo dear to all his predeceſſors.

Lewis XII. had alſo conquered and divided the kingdoms of Naples, with Ferdinand king of Arragon, without Maximilian's appearing any more diſturbed.

Maximilian promiſes the inveſtiture of Milan, upon condition that madam Claudia, daughter of Lewis XII. and of Anne of Bretagne ſhould marry the young duke Charles of Luxenburg. He intends declaring the Milaneſe a feminine fief. There are certainly, by nature, neither feminine fiefs nor maſculine. Whether a daughter ſhall or ſhall not inherit, all that depends on cuſtom imperceptibly eſtabliſhed.

Lewis

Lewis XII. ought certainly to regard the Milaneſe as a feminine fief in effect, becauſe he had no other pretenſions to it, than in the right of a grandmother, Valentia Viſconti. It was Maximilian's intention that the Milaneſe and Bretagne ſhould one day paſs to his grandſon, in which caſe Lewis XII. had neither conquered nor married but for the advantage of the houſe of Auſtria.

The arch-duke Philip, and his wife Johanna, daughter to Ferdinand and Iſabella, cauſed themſelves to be acknowledged heirs to the kingdom of Spain. Philip there takes the title of prince of Aſturias. Maximilian ſees nothing but real grandeur for his poſterity, and has ſcarce any thing for himſelf but titles; for he has but the ſhadow of power in Italy, and of precedency in Germany. He could carry his ſmalleſt deſigns into execution only by policy.

1503.

He endeavours ineffectually to make Auſtria an electorate.

The electors continue to meet for two whole years, to ſupport their privileges.

The extinction of the great fiefs in Germany, awakens the attention of the German princes.

The popes begin to form a temporal power, and Maximilian permits it.

Urbino, Camarino, and ſome other territories are forced from their new maſters by one of pope Alexander the Sixth's baſtards. That is the famous Cæſar Borgia, adeacon, an archbiſhop, and a ſecular prince. He employs more art in getting poſſeſſion of ſeven or eight ſmall towns, than the Alexanders, the Gengis, and the Tamerlanes had ſhewn, in the con-

queſt of Aſia. His father the pope and himſelf thrive by the bowl and dagger; and the good king Lewis XII. had been a long time in alliance with theſe two blood-ſtained men, becauſe he ſtood in need of them. As for the emperor, he ſeemed intirely to have forgotten Italy.

The town of Lubec declares war againſt Denmark. Lubec ſeemed to be endeavouring at being in the North, what Venice was in the Adriatic; and the troubles that reigned in Sweden and Denmark, prevented its being cruſhed.

1504.

The quarrels of Denmark and Sweden have nothing to ſay to the hiſtory of the Empire; but it ought not to be forgotten that the Swedes having choſen a governor, of whom king John of Denmark not approving, he condemned the ſenators of Sweden as rebels and traitors, and remitted their ſentence to the emperor for him to confirm it.

This king John had been elected king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; notwithſtanding which, there was a neceſſity for an emperor whoſe power was very weak, to approve and confirm his ſentence. This very king John, tho' with three crowns, had very little power himſelf, eſpecially in Sweden, from whence he had been driven out. But this kind of difference, of which from time to time we ſee examples, marks ſufficiently the reſpect always paid to the Empire. It was always addreſſed when there ſeemed to be a neceſſity for it, as the holy ſee was often ſolicited to ſtrengthen uncertain rights. Maximilian nevertheleſs failed

ed not to procure a proper reſpect to be paid to the reſcripts of that authority, which they attributed to him. He commanded the ſtates of Sweden to obey, threatening that he would otherwiſe proceed againſt them according to the rights of the empire.

This year a civil war ſprung up, between a branch of the Palatine, and the poſſeſſors of the houſe of Bavaria. The branch of the Palatine is at laſt condemned in the diet of Augſburg. Yet this does not make the war the leſs. Unhappy conſtitution of a ſtate, where the laws are without force! The branch of the Palatine loſes in this war more than one territory.

A treaty of a very ſingular nature is concluded at Blois, between the ambaſſadors of Maximilian and his ſon Philip on the one part, and the cardinal d'Amboiſe in the name of Lewis XII. on the other.

This treaty confirms the alliance with the houſe of Auſtria, by which Lewis XII. ſhould be in reality inveſted with the duchy of Milan. But by which, if Lewis XII. ſhould break the marriage of madam Claudia, with the archduke Charles of Luxemburg, the latter prince ſhould have the duchy of Burgundy, the Milaneſe, and the county of Aſti, by way of reparation: on the other hand, ſhould the treaty be broken on the ſide of Maximilian, or of Philip prince of Spain, father to the young archduke, the houſe of Auſtria ſhould not only quit his pretenſions upon the duchy of Burgundy, but alſo on the Artois, the Charolois, and other territories. It is ſcarce credible that ſuch a treaty was ſerious. If Lewis XII. ſhould

ſhould marry the princeſs, he muſt loſe Bretagne; if he broke the marriage, he was to loſe Burgundy. Nothing elſe can be ſaid in excuſe of ſuch promiſes, than that there was no intention of keeping them. This was exchanging imprudence for ignominy.

1505.

Iſabella queen of Caſtile dies, and by her will diſinherits her kinſman Philip, father of Charles of Luxemburg; and Charles is not to reign till the age of twenty. This was in order to preſerve the kingdom of Caſtile to her huſband Ferdinand of Arragon.

The mother of Charles of Luxemburg, Johannah, daughter of Iſabella, heireſs of Caſtile, was, as it is well known, called Johannah the Fooliſh. She well deſerved the title. An ambaſſador of Arragon comes to Bruſſels, and engages her to ſign her mother's will.

1506.

An agreement between Ferdinand of Arragon and Philip. The latter conſents to reign in common with his wife and Ferdinand. In all public acts the name of Ferdinand was put firſt; after it that of Johanna and that of Philip. A ſure way to confound three perſons, as will appear in the ſequel.

The ſtates of France, in concert with Lewis XII. and the cardinal d'Amboiſe, oppoſe the treaty, which give madam Claudia and Bretagne to the houſe of Auſtria. They marry her to the preſumptive heir of the crown, count d'Angouleſme, afterwards Francis I. Charles VIII. had got the wife of Maximilian, Francis I. the wife of Charles V.

While ſo many treaties were making on this ſide the Alps; while Philip and Johanna were

gone

gone into Spain, and Maximilian kept fair on all ſides, at the ſame time not letting the inheritance of Hungary out of his eye, the popes purſued their new deſign of eſtabliſhing a great ſoveregnty by force of arms. Excommunications were weapons too much uſed: Pope Alexander VI. had begun, Julius II. finiſhed it. He takes Bologna from the Bentivoglio's, and Lewis XII. or rather the Cardinal d'Amboiſe, aſſiſt him therein.

— He had already reunited to the ſee of Rome, the territory which Cæſar Borgia had taken for himſelf. In effect, Alexander VI. fought for his ſon, but Julius II. conquered for the ſee of Rome.

The titular king of Spain, Philip, dies at Burgos. On his death-bed he appoints Lewis XII. guardian of his ſon Charles. This will was formed on the hatred which he had for his ſtep-father Ferdinand. And, in ſpite of their diſagreement, on account of madam Claudia's marriage, he looked upon Lewis XII. to be a much honeſter man than Ferdinand the Catholic. A mighty religioniſt, but a moſt perfidious monarch! who had deceived the whole world, but above all his parents, and more particularly his kinſman.

1507.

A ſtrange affair! the Low-countries refuſe to acknowledge the emperor Maximilian for regent, during the minority of Charles. They ſay that Charles was a Frenchman, becauſe he was born at Ghent, the capital of Flanders, durin the time that his father paid homage to the king of France. Under this pretext, the ſeventeen provinces governed themſelves for eighteen months, without Maximilian's being able to remedy the inſult. There was no conquered country

country more free than the Low-countries at this day; England had not obtained near ſo much liberty.

1508.

A war againſt the houſe of Guelders, who had been long ſince driven from their dominions, part of which having recovered, they inceſſantly ſtruggled for the reſt, obliges the ſtates at laſt to cede the regency to Maximilian, and Margaret of Auſtria, his favourite daughter is declared governeſs.

Maximilian intends to try if he can recover ſome credit in Italy, by getting himſelf crown'd at Rome. The enterpriſe was difficult. The Venetians, now become more powerful than ever, haughtily declare they would oppoſe his progreſs in Italy, if too ſtrongly attended. The governor of Milan for Lewis the XII. joins the Venetians. Pope Julius the IId. tells him that he gives him the title of emperor, but that he does not adviſe him to go to Rome.

He advances towards Verona, in ſpite of the Venetians, who had not ſufficiently guarded the paſſes. Here they keep their word with him, and force him to retire to Inſpruc.

The famous Venetian general Alviano, intirely defeats the emperor's little army near the Trentin. The Venetians poſſeſs themſelves of almoſt this whole province, and their fleet takes Trieſte, capital of Iſtria and other towns. Alviano enters Venice in triumph.

Maximilian then, as a laſt reſource, ſends a circular letter to all the ſtates of the empire, injoining them to give him the title of Roman Emperor elected; a title which his ſucceſſors have ever ſince taken at their acceſſion. Cuſtom

tom heretofore had given the name of emperor to thoſe only who were crowned at Rome.

1509.

The empire at that time had no footing in Italy, where there were no more than two great powers, and many ſmall ones. Lewis XII. on the one ſide, maſter of the Milaneſe and of Genoa, who having a free communication by Provence, threatened the kingdom of Naples, heretofore imprudently divided with Ferdinand of Arragon, who took every thing to himſelf with that perfidy which is uſually called policy. The other new power was Venice, the rampart of chriſtianity againſt the infidels; a rampart broken indeed in a hundred places, yet ſtill making ſome reſiſtance by the towns that remained to them in Greece, by the iſles of Candy, Cyprus, and Dalmatia. Beſides, ſhe was not always at war with the Ottoman empire, and gained more by her commerce with the Turks than ſhe loſt by her poſſeſſions.

Her dominions upon Terra Firma began to be ſomething. She had ſeized upon Faenza, Rimini, Ceſeno, ſome tertitories belonging to Ferrara, and the duchy of Urbino, after the death of Alexander VI. They poſſeſſed Ravenna, and juſtified moſt of theſe acquiſions, becauſe, that having aſſiſted the houſes diſpoſſeſſed by Alexander VI. in the recovery of their dominions, theſe territories were awarded to them as their recompence. The Venetians had for a long time poſſeſſed Padua, Verona, Vicenza, the marquiſate of Treviſa, and Frionia. They had near the Milaneſe Breſſia, and Bergamas. Francis Sforza had given them Crema,

Lewis

Lewis XII. had ceded to them Cremona, and Guiara d'Adda.

All this did not compoſe in Italy a ſtate ſo very formidable, that Europe ſhould fear the Venetians as conquerors. The real power of Venice was in St. Mark's treaſury. It was there they had wherewith to retain an emperor and a king of France.

In the month of April 1509, Lewis XII. marches againſt his old allies the Venetians, at the head of 15,000 horſe, 12,000 French infantry, and 8000 Swiſs. The emperor advances againſt them on the ſide of Iſtria and Frioul. Julius II. the firſt warlike pope, enters the towns of Romania at the head of 10,000 men.

Ferdinand of Arragon, as king of Naples, declares alſo againſt the Venetians, becauſe that they held ſome ports in the kingdom of Naples, on account of ſome money which they had formerly lent upon them.

The king of Hungary alſo declares againſt them in hopes of having Dalmatia. The duke of Savoy having ſome pretenſions upon the kingdom of Cyprus, gives alſo a helping hand to the enterpriſe. The duke of Ferrara, a vaſſal of the holy ſee, alſo joins in it. In fine, ſo far from attacking the great Turk, the whole continent of Europe joins at once to oppreſs the Venetians.

Pope Julius the IId was the firſt promoter of this ſingular league of the ſtrong againſt the weak, ſo well known by the name of the League of Cambray. And he who would have ſhut ſtrangers out of Italy for ever, floods the whole country with them.

Lewis

Lewis XII. has the misfortune to beat the Venetians compleatly, in the battle of Guiaro d'Adda. This was not very difficult. The mercenary ſoldiers of Venice could hold out againſt the other ſovereigns of Italy, but not againſt the French gens d'armes. The misfortune of Lewis XII. in beating the Venetians was, that he laboured for the emperor. Maſter as he was of Genoa and Italy, no more remained to prevent the Germans ever entering Italy, than for him to have joined the Venetians.

The fear of the power of Venice was badly founded. Venice was only rich, and they muſt ſhut their eyes not to ſee, that the new channels of commerce by the Cape of Good Hope and the American ſeas, would finiſh the ſources of the Venetian power. Lewis XII. had received from Maximilian 100,000 golden crowns for joining this league, without which the emperor could not poſſibly have marched towards the Alps.

The 14th of June, 1509, the emperor gives the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe to cardinal d'Amboiſe, who receives it for Lewis XII. in the town of Trent. The emperor not only gives this duchy to the king, but in default of his iſſue to count d'Angouleſme, Francis I. This was the price of the ruin of Venice.

Maximilian received for this grant 60,000 golden crowns. Thus, for three ages paſt, had every thing been ſold. Lewis XII. might have employed this money to ſettle himſelf in Italy; and he returns to France, after having reduced Venice almoſt to her iſlands.

The

The emperor then advances on the ſide of Friouli, and reaps all the fruits of the French victory. But Venice, during the abſence of Lewis XII. acquires new courage, and her money procures her new armies. She forces the emperor to raiſe the ſiege of Padua, and, by giving up every thing that he aſks, concludes a treaty with the promoter of the league, Julius II.

The principal deſign of Julius II. was to drive the Barbarians out of Italy, and rid it at once of the French and the Germans. The popes had formerly called in theſe nations to ſupport him, one againſt the other, and vice verſa. Julius, by repairing the faults of his predeceſſors, by delivering Italy, and ſtrengthening himſelf, ſought an immortal name. Maximilian refuſes to aid Julius in driving out the French.

1510.

Julius II. at length makes his own uſe of the Swiſs, whom he ſpirits up againſt Lewis XII. as alſo old Ferdinand, king of Arragon and of Naples. He endeavours to procure a peace between the emperor and Venice; and, at the ſame time, deviſes the ſeizing Ferrara, Bologna, Ravenna, Parma, and Placentia.

A great diet is held at Augſburg, in the midſt of ſo many different intereſts. Here they debate, whether Maximilian ſhall give peace to Venice.

Here they confirm the liberty of the town of Hamburg, which had been long diſputed by Denmark.

Maximilian and Lewis XII. are again united, that is to ſay, Lewis XII. aſſiſts the emperor

ror in purſuing the Venetians, and the emperor does not in the leaſt contibute to preſerve to Lewis Milan and Genoa, whence the pope endeavours to drive him out.

Julius II. at length gives the inveſtiture of Naples to Ferdinand king of Arragon, though he had promiſed it to Lewis XII. Ferdinand, already maſter of Naples, ſtood in no need of this ceremony; but then it coſt him 7,000 crowns rent, whereas formerly 48,000 uſed to be paid to the holy ſee.

1511.

Julius II. declares war againſt the king of France, who begins to have very little power in Italy. This warlike pope intends the conqueſt of Ferrara, belonging to Alphonſo d'Eſte, an ally of France. He takes Mirandola and Concordia in his march, and gives them to the houſe of Mirandola, but as fiefs of the holy ſee. Theſe are but trivial wars; but certainly Julius II. had more policy than his predeceſſors; ſince he found the art of making them in ſome meaſure profitable, while all the victories of the French were of very little ſervice to them, ſince they could not enable them to curb the enterpriſes of the pope.

Julius II. gives up Modena, of which he had been ſome time poſſeſſed, to the emperor; and he only parts with it for fear that the troops which the king of France had in the Milaneſe ſhould have beſieged it.

1512.

The pope at length prevails upon Maximilian ſecretly to ſign a treaty with king Ferdinand and him againſt France. Theſe are fruits that Lewis XII. gathers from his league of Cambray,

bray, and ſo much money given to the emperor.

Julius II. who intended chaſing the Barbarians out of Italy, inſtead of it introduces, all at once, the Swiſs, the Arragonians, and the Germans. Gaſton de Foix, nephew to Lewis XII. governor of Milan, a young prince, who acquires great glory and reputation, by ſupporting himſelf, with a very ſmall army, defeats the allies at the battle of Ravenna, but is killed in the victory, and, by that means, the fruits of it are loſt. Such, almoſt, always has been the fate of the French in Italy. They loſe the Milaneſe after that famous battle of Ravenna, which, at another time, had given them the empire of Italy. Pavia is almoſt the only place that remains to them.

The Swiſs who, excited by the pope, had made an hand of this reſolution, receive from his holineſs, inſtead of money, the titles of Defenders of the holy ſee.

Maximilian, in the mean time, continues the war againſt the Venetians; but theſe rich republicans make a good defence, and daily repair their former loſſes.

The emperor and the pope inceſſantly treat. And it is in this very year, that Maximilian offers himſelf to the pope, to accept him as coadjutor in the popedom. He ſees no other way of re-eſtabliſhing the imperial dignity in Italy, and, from this view, he ſometimes aſſumes the title of *Pontifex maximus*, in imitation of the Roman emperors. His being a layman was no excluſion from the papacy, it being juſtified by the example of Amadeus of Savoy. The pope having diſappointed him in his views of being coadjutor to him,

him, Maximilian begins to deviſe the ſucceeding him; for which purpoſe he gains ſome cardinals, and endeavours to borrow money to purchaſe the remaining votes at the death of Julius, which he imagines very near. His famous letter to the archdutcheſs Margaret, his daughter, is a teſtimony of this, the original being ſtill to be ſeen.

The inveſtiture of the duchy of Milan, which three years before had coſt Lewis XII. 160,000 golden crowns, is given to Maximilian Sforza, at a much eaſier rate. To the ſon of that Lewis the Moor, whom Lewis XII. had kept ſo harſhly, yet ſo juſtly, in priſon. The ſame Swiſs who had betrayed Lewis the Moor to Lewis XII. brings his ſon back in triumph to Milan.

Pope Julius II. dies, after having laid the certain foundation of the pope's temporal grandeur; for as for his ſpiritual, it daily diminiſhes. The temporal grandeur might have formed the equilibrium of Italy; yet it has not. The reaſon of this is the weakneſs of a ſacerdotal government and the nepotiſm.

1513.

A war breaks out between Denmark and the Hans-towns, Lubec, Dantzic, Viſmar, and Riga. There were many examples of this kind, which we ſhall not ſee in theſe days. The towns are beaten, and the princes get the better in almoſt all parts of Europe; ſo very hard is it to preſerve true liberty!

Leo X. leſs warlike than Julius, but not leſs enterpriſing, more cunning but leſs capable, forms a league againſt Lewis XII. with the emperor, with Henry VIII. king of England, and old Ferdinand of Arragon. This league was

concluded at Mechlin on the fifth of April, by the care of that Margaret of Auſtria, governeſs of the Low-countries, who had made the league of Cambray.

The emperor was to poſſeſs himſelf of Burgundy, the pope of Provence, the king of England of Normandy, the king of Arragon of Guienne. This laſt had lately uſurped Navarre from John d'Albert, by means of a papal bull, ſeconded by an army. Thus do the popes, always weak, give kingdoms to the ſtrongeſt. Thus rapacioufneſs always acts by the hands of religion. Lewis XII. at length unites with thoſe very Venetians he had before ſo imprudently loſt. The papal league is broken almoſt as ſoon as formed. Maximilian only gets ſome money from Henry VIII. It was all that he wanted. What weakneſs! what knavery! what cruelty! what inconſtancy! what rapacity is manifeſted in all theſe great affairs!

Lewis XII. vainly attempts to recover the Milaneſe. La Trimouille marches thither with a few troops. He is defeated at Navarre by the Swiſs, and begins to be doubtful whether the Swiſs do not intend to take Milan themſelves. Milan and Geno, as well as Naples, are loſt to France.

The Venetians, who formerly had in Lewis XII. a terrible and imprudent enemy, have now only an uſeleſs ally in him. The Spaniards of Naples declare againſt them, and beat their famous general Alvianos, as Lewis XII. had before beaten them. Henry VIII. of England is the only one of all the princes who ſigned the league of Mechlin againſt France, that keeps his

his word. He embarks with the preparations and hope of an Edward III. or an Henry V.

Maximilian, who had promiſed him an army, follows the king of England as a volunteer, and Henry VIII. gives 100 crowns a day, as pay, to that ſucceſſor of the Cæſars, who would have ſet himſelf up for pope. He is preſent at that victory which Henry gains in the new battle of Guinegaſte, called the Battle of the ſpurs, being the very ſame place in which he himſelf had won a battle in his youth.

Maximilian is afterwards paid a very conſiderable ſum. He receives 200,000 crowns to make war in reality. France, thus attacked, by a young and powerful king, was certainly, after the loſs of her men and money in Italy, in imminent danger.

Maximilian, nevertheleſs, with part of Henry's money, procures the Swiſs to attack Burgundy. Ulric duke of Wirtemberg, here leads the German cavalry. Dijon is beſieged. Lewis XII. loſes Burgundy, after the Milaneſe, all by the hands of the Swiſs. Nor can la Trimouille oblige them to retire, without promiſing them, in the name of his maſter, 400,000 crowns. What are the viciſſitudes of this world! what may we not hope for, what have we not to fear! ſince we ſee the Swiſs, their hands ſtill reeking with blood, ſhed in defence of their liberty againſt the houſe of Auſtria, now arming in defence of that houſe, and even the Hollanders preparing to do the ſame.

1514.

Maximilian, ſeconded by the Spaniards, continues the war againſt the Venetians. This was all that remained of the old league of

Cambray, the principle and object of which were now changed; and the French, who had been formerly the heroes, were at length become the victims of it.

Lewis XII. driven out of Italy, menaced by Ferdinand of Arragon, beaten and abuſed by his ſubjects, vanquiſhed by Henry VIII. of England, who revives the claims of his anceſtors upon France, has no other reſource than that of marrying Mary, ſiſter of Henry VIII. for his ſecond wife.

This very Mary had been promiſed to Charles of Luxemburg. It ſeems to have been the luck of France to carry off all the women promiſed to the houſe of Auſtria.

1515.

The great point at which Maximilian always aims, is the eſtabliſhing his houſe. He concludes a marriage between Lewis prince of Hungary and Bohemia, and his grand-daughter, Mary of Auſtria, as well as between the princeſs Ann of Hungary, and one of his grand-ſons, Charles or Ferdinand, who were afterwards ſucceſſively emperors.

This is the firſt contract whereby a girl is promiſed to either one huſband or another, as her parents ſhall think proper. Maximilian does not forget to mention, in this contract, that his houſe ſhall inherit Hungary, according to the antient conventions between the houſes of Hungary and Bohemia. Nevertheleſs, theſe two kingdoms have been always elective, which does not at all agree with conventions of this nature, becauſe the votes of the nation are neceſſary to ſupport the Auſtrian authority.

Charles

Charles being declared of age at fifteen, pays homage to the king of France, Francis I. for Flanders, the Artois, and Charolois. Henry of Naſſau takes the oath of fidelity in the name of Charles.

Another new marriage is propoſed for the archduke Charles. Francis I. promiſed him madam Raignier his ſtep-ſiſter; but this appearance of union covers an inſatiable diſcord.

The duchy of Milan is ſtill the object of the ambition of Francis I. as it had been of Lewis XII. He alſo, like his predeceſſor, begins by an alliance with the Venetians, and buys victories.

After the battle of Marignan, he takes all the Milaneſe in one campaign. Maximilian Sforza retires to live privately in France, upon a penſion of 30,000 crowns. Francis I. obliges pope Leo X. to give up Parma and Placentia. He makes him promiſe to ſurrender Modena and Reggio, to the duke of Ferrara. He concludes a peace with the Swiſs, whom he had defeated, and thus in one compaign becomes arbitrator of Italy. Thus the French always begin.

Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon, grand-father to Charles V. dies the 23d of January, after having prepared much glory for his grand-ſon, whom he very little regarded.

The ſucceſs of Francis I. revives Maximilian. He raiſes troops in Germany, with the money which Ferdinand had ſent him before his death: for the ſtates of the empire never furniſhed him with any money to carry on the quarrels in Italy. At length Leo X. breaks the treaties which he had been forced to make with Francis I. pays no regard to any of his promiſes; nei-

ther does he ſurrender Modena, Reggio, Parma, nor Placentia; ſo much had the popes always at heart the great deſign of keeping ſtrangers out of Italy; of making them deſtroy one the other; and of acquiring, by that expedient, a right over the Italian liberty, of which they were the avengers; glorious deſign, worthy of antient Rome to attempt, not in the power of modern Rome to accompliſh.

The emperor Maximilian deſcends by the Trentine, beſieges Milan with 15,000 Swiſs; but this prince, who was always raiſing money, and always wanting it, not paying his Swiſs regularly, they mutinied. The emperor, fearing to be ſtopt by them, ſecures himſelf by flight. Here then you ſee the laſt efforts of the famous league of Cambray, which had ſtripped Lewis XII. and obliged an emperor to fly, for fear of being impriſoned by his hirelings.

He propoſes to Henry VIII. king of England, to cede him the empire and the duchy of Milan, merely with a view of extorting money from him; a circumſtance almoſt incredible, had it not been atteſted by letter under Henry's hand.

Another marriage is again ſtipulated with the archduke Charles, now king of Spain. Never prince had been promiſed to ſo many wives without having got one. Francis I. gives him his daughter Louiſa, aged one year.

This marriage, which turned out no better than the others, is ſtipulated in the treaty of Noyon. This treaty directs, that Charles ſhall do juſtice to the houſe of Navarre, ſtripped by Ferdinand the Catholic; and that he ſhould engage the emperor his grand-father, to make peace

peace with the Venetians. This treaty is no better executed than the marriage, although it ſhould have brought in to the emperor's treaſury 200,000 ducats, which the Venetians were to have paid him. Francis I. was alſo to give Charles 100,000 crowns a year, until he had full poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Spain. Nothing is more trifling nor more whimſical. One would imagine them gameſters endeavouring to deceive each other.

Immediately after this treaty the emperor makes another with his grand-ſon Charles and the king of England againſt France.

1517.

Charles paſſes into Spain. He is acknowledged king of Caſtile, jointly with Johanna his mother.

1518.

Pope Leo X. has two great projects on the anvil; that of arming the Chriſtian princes againſt the Turks, who were now become more formidable than ever, under Sultan Selim II. conqueror of Egypt; the other was to embelliſh Rome, and finiſh the baſilica of St. Peter, begun by Julius II. and abſolutely one of the fineſt monuments of architecture ever made by men.

He thought it would be allowed him to drain the money of Chriſtianity by the ſale of indulgences. Theſe indulgences were originally exemptions from certain impoſts, granted either by the emperors, or by the governors to certain countries that had been oppreſſed.

The popes, and alſo ſome biſhops, had applied theſe temporal indulgences to ſpiritual affairs, but in a very contrary manner.

The indulgences of the emperors were exemptions of the people, thoſe of the popes were taxes on them; much more ſo ſince the belief of purgatory had become generally eſtabliſhed, and that the vulgar, who are, in every country, at leaſt eighteen out of twenty, are led into a perſuaſion, that by obtaining a bit of paper at a very trifling price, they buy off years of puniſhment. A public ſale of this kind is one of thoſe ridiculous affairs, which people of the leaſt ſenſe in theſe times never think of. But then one ought no more to be ſurpriſed at it, than the people of the Eaſt to ſee the Bonzes and Talapoins ſell a remiſſion of all ſins for a ſixth part of a farthing.

There are every-where offices of indulgence, where they are leaſed out as the rights of entries and exits. Moſt of theſe offices were held in houſes of entertainment. The preacher, the farmer, the diſtributor, were all gainers. Hitherto all was carried on very peaceably. In Germany the Auguſtines, who had been long in poſſeſſion of the farming of theſe follies, became jealous of the Dominicans, to whom this liberty was granted, and this was the firſt part of the quarrel that inflamed all Europe.

This revolution was begun by the ſon of a black-ſmith, born at Eiſleben. This was Martin Luther, an Auguſtine monk, employed by his ſuperiors to preach againſt a merchandiſe which they had no longer the vending of. The quarrel was at firſt between the Auguſtines and the Dominicans; but Luther, after having decried indulgences, began to examine into the power of him who granted them to Chriſtians. A corner of the veil was here lifted up. The people,

people, once ſpirited, began to judge that which they adored. Luther is openly protected by Frederick the old elector of Saxony, ſurnamed The Wiſe. He who, after the death of Maximilian, had the courage to refuſe the empire. The doctrine of this monk was as yet neither firm nor confined. He contented himſelf, in the beginning, with ſaying, "That the communion ought to be adminiſtered in common bread and wine: that ſin remained in the infant after baptiſm: that auricular confeſſion was really uſeleſs: that neither popes nor councils could make articles of faith: that purgatory could not be proved by the canonical books: that monaſtic vows were an abuſe; and that all princes ought to unite in aboliſhing the mendicant friars."

Duke Frederick, elector of Saxony, as we have already ſaid, was the protector of Luther and of his doctrine. It is reported that this prince had ſufficient religion to conſtitute a Chriſtian; ſufficient reaſon to ſee the abuſes of it; and a ſtrong deſire to reform them. Perhaps much rather with a view of dividing the immenſe wealth which the clergy poſſeſſed in Saxony. He did not imagine then that he laboured for his enemies, and that the rich archduchy of Magdeburg would fall to the houſe of Brandenburg, already become his rival.

1519.

While Luther, cited to the diet at Augſburg, withdraws himſelf, after having made his appearance, ſummons a future council, and prepares without knowing it, one of the greateſt revolutions that ever was made in the Chriſtian church, ſince the extinction of Paganiſm; the

emperor Maximilian, who had been already forgot, dies at Inſpruc on the 12th of January, of a ſurfeit of melons.

AN INTERREGNUM,

To the firſt of October, 1520.

THE electors of Saxony and the Palatinate jointly govern the empire, to the day of the emperor-elect's coronation.

Francis I. king of France, and Charles of Auſtria, king of Spain, put in for the imperial crown. Either one or the other had it in his power to revive at leaſt ſome ſhadow of the Roman empire. The neighbourhood of the Turks, already become very formidable, put the electors under the dangerous neceſſity of chuſing a puiſſant emperor. Chriſtianity required that either Francis or Charles ſhould be elected: but it was the intereſt of pope Leo X. that neither one nor the other ſhould be put in the road of being his maſter. Charles, Francis, the great Turk, and Luther, were all of them objects equally, at that time, to influence the pope with fear.

Leo X. croſſes, as much as poſſible, the two competitors. Seven great princes were, at the moſt critical juncture, to diſpoſe of the foremoſt place in Europe, and votes are, nevertheleſs, bought. In the midſt of theſe intrigues, and during this interregnum, the antient and modern laws of Germany are not without their force. The Germans teach princes that great and uſeful leſſon, of not abuſing their power. The league of Suabia renders itſelf praiſe-worthy,

thy, by making war upon duke Ulric of Wirtemberg, who oppreſſed his vaſſals.

This league of Suabia is really eſtabliſhed for the public good. It obliges the duke to abandon his territories, but afterwards ſells them for a ſcandalous price to Charles of Auſtria. Then every thing is done for money! how comes it that Charles, ready to mount the imperial throne, thus plunders ſuch a houſe, and purchaſes, for a very trifle, the eſtate of another.

Leo X. attempts governing deſpotically in Toſcany.

The electors meet at Frankfort. Can it be true, that they offer the imperial crown to Frederick, ſurnamed The Wiſe, elector of Saxony, the great protector of Luther? was he ſolemnly elected? No. In what then conſiſts his refuſal? In this; that his character had made him the object of public election, he having before given his intereſt to Charles, and his recommendation influencing the other votes.

Charles V. is unanimouſly elected on the 28th of June, 1519.

CHARLES V.

FORTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

THIS year is that of the firſt capitulation drawn up for the emperor. It was before this ſufficient they took an oath of fidelity at their coronation. An oath void of juſtice,

opens a paſſage to injuſtice. There ought to be a ſtronger bulwark againſt the abuſe of authority of a prince ſo powerful in himſelf.

By this certain contract of the ſovereign with the conſtituents, the emperor promiſes, that if he has any eſtates to which he ſhall appear not properly intitled, he will give them up at the firſt intimation of the electors. This is promiſing a great deal.

Some conſiderable authors pretend, that they ſwore him alſo to a conſtant reſidence in Germany; but the capitulation expreſly ſays, "that he ſhall reſide there as long as he poſſibly can." To exact a piece of injuſtice, gives too much pretext for neglecting the execution of that which is juſt.

The day of Charles the fifth's election is marked by a battle between a biſhop of Hildeſheim and a duke of Brunſwick, in the duchy of Lunenburg. They diſpute about a fief, and in ſpite of the eſtabliſhment of the Auſtregues, of the imperial chamber, and the aulic council, in ſpite of the authority of the two vicars of the empire, there are bloody engagements almoſt daily, for the moſt trifling matters, between the biſhops, the princes, and the barons. Some laws, indeed, ſubſiſted, at that time, in Germany; but the coercive, which is the chief power of laws, was wanting.

The news of Charles's election is carried to him in Spain by the elector Palatine. The grandees of Spain at that time reckoned themſelves equal to electors; the peers of France rank above them; and the cardinals take the right hand of both.

Spain,

Spain, fearing to become a province of the empire, Charles is obliged to declare that kingdom independent. He goes to Germany; but firſt makes a voyage to England, even ſo early to engage in a league with Henry VIII. againſt Francis I. He is crowned at Aix la Chapelle, the 23d of October, 1520. At the time of the acceſſion of Charles V. to the empire, Europe inſenſibly aſſumes a new aſpect. The Ottoman power fixes itſelf at Conſtantinople on a foundation not to be overturned.

The emperor, king of the Two Sicilies, and of Spain, prepares to form a league againſt the Turks. The Venetians, at the ſame time, ſtand in awe of the ſultan and emperor.

Pope Leo X. is maſter of only a trifling territory, and already finds one half of Europe endeavouring to eſcape from his ſpiritual authority; for, about the year 1520, from the extremity of the North, all the way to France, the people were revolting both againſt the abuſe of the Roman church, and againſt its laws.

Francis I. king of France, rather a brave ſoldier than a great prince, had more deſire than he had power to pull down Charles V. Had his prudence and his ſtrength been equal, how could they have ſucceeded againſt an emperor, king of Spain and Naples, ſovereign of the Low-countries, whoſe frontiers extended even to the gates of Amiens, and into whoſe ports of Spain the treaſures of a new-found world began already to be poured *.

* About this time Ferdinando Magallanus, a Portugueſe, in the ſervice of Charles V. diſcovered that paſſage into the South Sea, called from his name the Streights of Magellan; and Cortes made a conqueſt of Mexico.

Henry VIII. king of England pretends at length to hold the balance between Charles V. and Francis I. A great example of what the courage of the Engliſh, aſſiſted by the riches of their commerce, was able to do. In this review of Europe it is obſervable, that Henry VIII. one of the principal perſonages, was one of the greateſt ſcourges the earth ever felt; abſolute even to brutality; furious in his anger; barbarous in his amours; a murderer of his wives; and a tyrant as capricious in the government of his kingdom, as in the management of religion: yet did he die in his bed; and Mary Stuart, who had only a criminal weakneſs *, and Charles I. who could be reproached with nothing but goodneſs, died upon the ſcaffold.

A king ſtill wickeder than Henry VIII. that is Chriſtian II. after reuniting to his power Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, a monſter always ſtained with blood, and ſurnamed the Nero of the North, yet at laſt is puniſhed for all his crimes; altho' the brother of Chriſtian V. is dethroned, and dies in priſon in old age, the object of contempt and deteſtation.

Thus have I drawn, in miniature, the principal Chriſtian princes who made a figure in Europe, when Charles V. took the reins of the empire.

Sciences flouriſhed at that time in Italy more than ever. But ſhe was never more diſtant from that great end propoſed by Julius II. of driving the Barbarians out of Italy. The European powers were almoſt always at war; but happily for the people, the little armies,

* And even that very doubtful,

which

which were raiſed for a time, returned afterwards to the cultivation of the earth; and in the midſt of the moſt obſtinate diſputes, Europe had not above one-fifth of the ſoldiers which ſhe now maintains in times of profound peace. They knew nothing of that continual and dreadful effort which conſumes the ſubſtance of a government in always keeping on foot thoſe numerous armies, which in time of peace can only be employed againſt the people, and may one day become fatal to their maſters.

The principal force of the Chriſtian armies conſiſted always in cavalry: foot was generally deſpiſed: therefore the Germans called them *Lands-Knechte*, tillers of the earth. The janiſaries were the only formidable infantry.

France almoſt always made uſe of foreign infantry. The Swiſs as yet made no other uſe of their liberty, than to ſell their blood, and he generally believed himſelf ſure of victory in whoſe army there was the greateſt number of Swiſs. They preſerved this reputation until the battle of Marignan, where Francis I. defeated them with his cavalry, when he firſt attempted an invaſion of Italy.

War began to grow more an art under Charles V. than it had ever been before. His great ſucceſſes; the progreſs of ſcience in Italy; the reformation, in point of religion, of one half of Europe; commerce opened with India by the ocean, and the conqueſts of Mexico and Peru, will make this age eternally memorable.

1521.

A diet at Worms, famous for re-eſtabliſhing the imperial chamber, which no longer ſubſiſted but in name. Charles

Charles V. eſtabliſhes two vicars, not of the empire, but of the emperor. The vicars of the empire are Saxony and the Palatine, whoſe decrees are irrevocable. The vicars of the emperor are governors accountable only to the ſovereign. Theſe governors were his brother Ferdinand, to whom he had given his poſſeſſions in Auſtria, the count Palatine, with twenty-two aſſiſtants.

This diet ſummons to appear before them the dukes of Brunſwick and of Lunenburg on the one part, and the biſhops of Hildeſheim and of Minden on the other, who maintained a continual war upon each other. They deſpiſe their decree, and are put under the ban of the empire, which they alſo hold in contempt, perſiſting in mutual hoſtility. The power of Charles V. is not yet ſufficiently ſtrong to give force to his laws. Two biſhops, armed and rebellious, diſpoſe the people very much, not only againſt the church, but its poſſeſſions.

Luther comes to this diet with a protection from the emperor; nor does he fear the fate of John Hus. The prieſts were not the ſtrongeſt party in this diet. They confer with him; but neither ſide rightly underſtand the other, ſo that they agree upon nothing, and let him return in peace to Saxony to deſtroy the Roman religion. On the 6th of May the emperor publiſhes an edict againſt Luther in his abſence, enjoining, under pain of diſobedience, every prince and ſovereignty of the empire to impriſon him and his adherents. This proclamation was levelled at the duke of Saxony, who, it was well known, would not obey it. But the emperor, who had united with Leo X. againſt

Francis I. was willing to appear as a Catholick.

He attempts in this diet to form an alliance between the empire and the king of Denmark, Chriſtian II. his brother-in-law, aſſuring him of ſuccour. Sentiments of horror againſt tyranny are always predominant in general aſſemblies; the enthuſiaſm of virtue muſt communicate itſelf, and the cries of nature will be heard. The whole diet exclaims againſt an alliance with a villain, contaminated with the blood of ninety-four ſenators butchered before his eyes by the common executioners in Stockholm, afterwards delivered up to be plundered. It is pretended that Charles V. had in view the ſecuring to himſelf the three Northern crowns, in aiding his unworthy brother.

The ſame year, pope Leo X. more cunning perhaps than wiſe, and finding that between Francis I. and Charles V. he ſhould be only involved, makes, almoſt at the ſame time, a treaty with each; the firſt, in 1520, with Francis I. to whom he promiſes the kingdom of Naples, reſerving to himſelf Gaietta, and this by virtue of that chimerical law, that a king of Naples can never be emperor. His ſecond treaty was in 1521, with Charles V. to drive the French out of Italy, and give the Milaneſe to Francis Sforza, a younger ſon of Lewis the Moor, and above all, to obtain for the holy ſee Ferrara, of which they always attempt to deprive the houſe of Eſte.

The firſt hoſtility that engages the empire againſt France, is this. The duke of Bouillon, Robert de la Mark, ſovereign of the caſtle of Bouillon, ſolemnly declares war by a herald againſt

againſt Charles V. and ravages Luxemburg. It is well known that he was ſtirred up by Francis I. who in publick denied it.

Charles, united with Henry VIII. and pope Leo X. makes war upon Francis I. on the ſide of Picardy, and towards the Milaneſe. In 1520 it had been already begun in Spain; but Spain is but an appendix to the annals of the empire.

Lautrec, governor for the king of France in the Milaneſe, a very unfortunate general, becauſe he is raſh and imprudent, is driven out of Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Parma, and Placentia, by Proſpero di Colonna.

Leo X. dies on the 2d of December. George marquis de Malaſpina, attached to France, and ſuppoſed to have poiſoned the pope, is arreſted, and clears himſelf of a crime it would have been very hard to prove.

This pope had 12,000 Swiſs at his command.

Cardinal Wolſey, tyrant of Henry VIII. who was the tyrant of England, has a mind to be pope. Charles V. dupes him, and manifeſts his power by giving the papacy to his preceptor Adrian, a native of Utrecht, and then regent of Spain.

Adrian is elected on the 9th of January, and preſerves his name, notwithſtanding the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the eleventh century. The emperor abſolutely governs the papacy. The old league of the towns of Suabia is confirmed at Ulm for eleven years. The emperor has ſome reaſon to fear it, but he inclines to pleaſe the Germans.

1522.

Charles again repairs to England. He receives

ceives at Windſor the order of the garter, and promiſes to marry his couſin Mary, daughter to his aunt Catharine of Arragon and Henry VIII. ſhe who was afterwards married to his ſon Philip. He ſubmits, by an aſtoniſhing clauſe, in caſe he ſhould not marry this princeſs, to forfeit 500,000 crowns *. This is the fifth time of his having been promiſed, without being once married. He divides France already in imagination with Henry VIII. who begins to think of reviving the pretenſion of his anceſtors upon that kingdom.

The emperor borrows money of the king of England. Here the enigma of his forfeiting 500,000 crowns is explained. This money lent is to ſerve one day as a portion, and this ſingular forfeiture is required of Henry VIII. as a ſort of ſecurity. The emperor gives the prime miniſter, cardinal Wolſey, penſions, which do not recompence him for the loſs of the papacy. Why is the moſt powerful emperor that has been ſeen ſince the days of Charlemagne obliged, Maximilian-like, to borrow money of Henry VIII? He makes war on the ſide of the Pyrenæan mountains, of Picardy, and in Italy, all at the ſame time. Germany bears no part in his expence; Spain very little; the mines of Mexico furniſh yet no regular produce; the

* According to Sleidanus, the emperor obliged himſelf to eſpouſe his couſin the princeſs Mary, then ſeven years of age, and to pay the yearly ſum of 130,000 ducats to the king of England, while Henry ſhould continue to make war upon the French king, until Charles ſhould conſummate his marriage with the princeſs Mary, or Henry ſhould have acquired lands in France ſufficient to yield that revenue.

expences

expences of his coronation, and his firſt eſtabliſhments of every kind, were immenſe.

Charles V. is every-where ſucceſsful. Cremona and Lodi are all that remain to Francis I. in the Milaneſe. Genoa, which he had hitherto poſſeſſed, is taken from him by the Imperialiſts. The emperor allows Francis Sforza, the laſt prince of that race, to enter Milan.

But in the mean time the Ottoman power threatens Germany. The Turks are in Hungary. Solyman, as formidable as Selim and Mahomet II. had been, takes Belgrade, and thence proceeds to the ſiege of Rhodes, which capitulates in about three months.

This year is pregnant with great events. The ſtates of Denmark ſolemnly depoſe their tyrant Chriſtian, whom they look upon as a criminal, and imagine they do him a kindneſs in confining themſelves barely to depoſing him. Guſtavus Vaſa baniſhes the Catholic religion in Sweden. All the North, even to the Weſer, is ready to follow this example.

1523.

While a controverſial war threatens Germany with a revolution, and while Solyman menaces Chriſtianity in Europe, the quarrels between Charles V. and Francis I. occaſion new misfortunes both to Italy and France.

Charles V. and Henry VIII. in order to cruſh Francis I. engage in their cauſe the conſtable of Bourbon, who, excited by ambition and revenge, rather than by a patriot love of his country, undertakes to cauſe a diverſion in the heart of France, as ſoon as the enemies of Francis ſhall attack his frontiers. They promiſe him in marriage Eleonora, ſiſter of Charles V.

V. widow of the king of Portugal, and, what is ſtill more eſſential, Provence, with other territories, which they are to erect into a kingdom.

To give the laſt ſtroke to France, the emperor enters into alliance with the Venetians, pope Adrian, and the Florentines. Duke Francis Sforza remains poſſeſſed of Milan, which is wreſted from Francis I. But the emperor does not yet acknowledge Sforza to be duke of Milan; and defers deciding upon that province, until he ſhall become ſo abſolutely maſter of it, that the French can have no more pretenſion.

The imperial troops enter Champagne. The treachery of the conſtable of Bourbon being diſcovered, he is obliged to fly, and goes to command for the emperor in Italy.

In the midſt of theſe great troubles a trivial war breaks out between the electors of Triers and the nobleſſe of Alſace, which appears like a ſmall vortex moving within a great one. Charles V. is too much ingroſſed with ruminating on his vaſt deſigns, and his variety of intereſts, to attend to the pacifying theſe tranſitory quarrels.

Clement VII. ſucceeds Adrian the 29th of November. He was of the houſe of Medicis. His papacy will be eternally remarkable for his unfortunate connections; for that weakneſs which at length cauſed the deſtruction of Rome, ſacked by the army of Charles V. it will be always diſtinguiſhed by the loſs of the Florentine liberty, and by the irrevocable defection of England, torn from the Roman church.

1524.

The firſt ſtep of Clement VII. is the ſending a legate

a legate to the diet at Nuremberg, in order to engage Germany to arm againſt Solyman, and to anſwer a writing, intituled, "The Hundred Complaints againſt the Court of Rome." He ſucceeds in neither one nor the other.

It was not at all extraordinary that Adrian, the preceptor, and afterwards the miniſter of Charles V. a man born with the genius of a ſubaltern, ſhould enter into a league which muſt render the emperor abſolute maſter of Italy, and ſoon of all Europe. Clement VII. had nevertheleſs ſufficient courage to detach himſelf from this league, in hopes to hold an equal balance.

There was at that time a man of the ſame family, who was indeed a great man. This was John de Medicis, Charles V's general. He commanded for the emperor in Italy, together with the conſtable of Bourbon. It was he that in this year completed the driving the French out of that little part of the Milaneſe which they ſtill poſſeſſed; who beat Bonivet at Biagraſſa, where the famous chevalier Bayard loſt his life.

The marquis de Peſcara, whom the French call Peſcacie, a noble rival to John de Medicis, marches into Provence with the duke of Bourbon: the latter determines on the ſiege of Marſeilles, in ſpite of Peſcara, and the enterprize miſcarries; but Provence is ravaged.

Francis I. when he ought to have aſſembled an army, purſues the Imperialiſts, who withdraw: he paſſes the Alps: he, to his misfortune, enters that duchy of Milan, which had been ſo often won and loſt. The houſe of Savoy was not yet ſufficiently ſtrong to ſtop the progreſs of the French arms.

At that time the antient papal policy displayed itſelf; and the fear which a powerful emperor inſpired, makes Clement VII. an ally to Francis I. to whom he offers the kingdom of Naples. Francis marches thither a large detachment of his army: thus, by dividing his forces, he weakens himſelf, and prepares inevitable misfortunes for himſelf and Rome.

1525.

The king of France beſieges Pavia. The count de Lanoy, viceroy of Naples, Peſcara, and Bourbon, endeavour to raiſe the ſiege by forcing a paſſage at Mirabel Park, where Francis I. was poſted. The French artillery alone put the Imperialiſts to the route. The king of France ought not to have moved, and he was beaten. He engages in the purſuit, and is intirely defeated. The Swiſs, who made up the force of his infantry, abandoned him and fled; and he was not perſuaded of the ill conſequences of having an intire mercenary body of infantry, nor of having relied too much on his own courage, until he fell a captive into the hands of the Imperialiſts, and of that Bourbon whom he had abuſed and forced into rebellion.

Charles V. received the news of his exceſſive good fortune at Madrid, where he ſtill was, and diſſembled his joy. They ſend him his priſoner. He then appears abſolute maſter of Europe; and had been ſo effectually, had he purſued his fortune at the head of 50,000 men, inſtead of remaining at Madrid. But his ſucceſſes raiſed him enemies; and the more ſo, ſince he, who paſſed for one of the moſt active princes, did not make a proper uſe of them.

Cardinal

Cardinal Wolſey, who was out of humour with the emperor, inſtead of perſuading Henry VIII. whom he governed, to enter France, then abandoned, and an eaſy prey, engages him to declare againſt Charles V. thereby ſeizing that balance which had eſcaped the feeble hands of Clement VII. Bourbon, whom Charles flattered with the hopes of a kingdom, made up of Provence, Dauphiné, and the eſtate of the conſtable, is as yet no more than governor of the Milaneſe.

One muſt neceſſarily believe that Charles V. had ſome ſecret weighty engagements in Spain, ſince at that critical time he neither entered France, entirely open to invaſion, nor Italy, which to him might have been an eaſy conqueſt; nor yet Germany, where new diſputes, and the love of independency, created freſh troubles.

The different ſectaries knew very well what they would not believe, but did not know what they would believe. All agreed in exclaiming againſt the abuſes of the court of Rome and its church, and they introduced other abuſes. Melanchton oppoſes Luther upon ſome articles.

Storck, a native of Sileſia, goes farther than Luther had done. He is the founder of the ſect of Anabaptiſts, whoſe apoſtle is Muncer. They both preach ſword in hand. Luther began with engaging the princes in his party. Muncer eſtabliſhed his among the people of the country, whom he ſoothed and ſpirited with a notion of equality, nature's primitive law, which had been deſtroyed by force and aſſociations. The firſt fury of the peaſants diſplayed itſelf in Suabia, where they were greater ſlaves than

than elſewhere. Muncer goes to Thuringia, and there, whilſt he preaches equality, makes himſelf maſter of Mulhauſen; and, whilſt he preaches up diſintereſtedneſs, cauſes the wealth of the inhabitants to be laid at his feet. All the peaſants riſe in Suabia, Franconia, in part of Thuringia, the Palatinate, and Alſace.

Indeed theſe ſort of ſavages draw up a manifeſto which a Lycurgus would have ſigned. They inſiſt "upon paying only the tithes of their corn, which ſhall be employed to relieve the poor; that they ſhall have free liberty of water and chace; that they ſhall be allowed wood to build cabins, to defend them againſt the cold; and that their daily labour ſhall be leſſened." They lay claim to the rights of human nature, but they ſupport them like wild beaſts. They maſſacre all the gentlemen they meet. A natural ſon of the emperor has his throat cut.

It is very remarkable, that theſe peaſants at laſt ſet a gentleman at their head, like the revolted ſlaves mentioned in antiquity, who, finding themſelves incapable of governing, choſe for their king the only maſter that had eſcaped the ſlaughter.

They ſeize upon Heilbron, Spire, Wurtzbourg, and the countries round theſe towns.

Muncer and Storck lead the army in quality of prophets. The old elector of Saxony, Frederick, engages in a bloody battle with them near Franchuſen, in the county of Mansfield. In vain do the two prophets ſing canticles in the name of the Lord: theſe fanatics are entirely defeated. Muncer, taken after the battle, is condemned to loſe his head; he abjures his

his tenets before his death: he had been no enthuſiaſt: he had only conducted thoſe that were: but his diſciple Fiſher, condemned along with him, dies fully perſuaded of them. Storck returns to preach in Sileſia, and ſends diſciples into Poland. The emperor, in the mean time, negotiates at his eaſe with the king of France, his priſoner at Madrid.

1526.

The principal articles of the treaty whereby Charles V. impoſes laws upon Francis I. are theſe:

The king of France gives up to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy and the county of Charolois. He renounces his right to ſovereignty upon the Artois and upon Flanders: he cedes to him Arras, Tournay, Mortagne, St. Amand, Lile, Douay, Orchies, and Heſdin: he deſiſts from his pretenſions upon the Two Sicilies, the Milaneſe, the county of Aſte, and upon Genoa: he promiſes no longer to protect the duke of Guelders, whom he had always ſupported againſt this powerful emperor, nor the duke of Wirtemburg, who claimed his duchy, which had been ſold to the houſe of Auſtria: he promiſes to oblige the heirs to the crown of Navarre to renounce their rights to it: he ſigns an offenſive and defenſive league with the conqueror, who had raviſhed from him ſo many territories, and promiſes to marry Eleonora his ſiſter.

He is obliged to receive into favour the duke of Burgundy, to reſtore him his eſtate, and to indemnify not only him but all his party.

Nor was this all: the two eldeſt ſons of this king were to be delivered up as hoſtages for

fulfilling the treaty, which is ſigned the 14th of January.

While the king of France brings his two ſons to be left captives in his ſtead, Lanoy, viceroy of Naples, enters his apartments booted, to make him ſign the contract of marriage with Eleonora, whom he had never ſeen, and who was then four leagues off. A ſtrange way this of taking a wife!

It is affirmed, that Francis I. made a formal proteſtation againſt all his promiſes, in the preſence of a notary, before he ſigned them. It is difficult to believe, that a notary of Madrid either would or could enter the priſon of a king, to witneſs ſuch an act.

The dauphin and the duke of Orleans are ſent into Spain, exchanged for their father upon the river Andoye, and carried into bondage.

Charles might have had Burgundy, had he cauſed it to have been ceded before he had releaſed his priſoner. The king of France expoſed his two children to the emperor's anger by not keeping his word. There had been a time when ſuch an infringement would have coſt theſe two princes their lives.

Francis I. cauſes it to be repreſented by the ſtates of Burgundy, that he cannot part with ſo fine a province of France. He ought not then to have promiſed it. Such was the ſituation of this king, that every party was ſorry for him.

On the 22d of May, Francis I. whoſe miſfortunes and neceſſities had procured him many friends, ſigns a league at Cognac with pope Clement VII. the king of England, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Swiſs, againſt the emperor. This league is called Holy, be-

cauſe the pope is at the head of it. The king thereby ſtipulates, to put that very duke, Francis Sforza, whom before he would have ſtripped of it, in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe.

He concludes with fighting for his old enemies. The emperor finds France, England, and Italy, at once arming againſt his power; becauſe that power itſelf was not ſufficiently ſtrong to prevent ſuch a revolution, and becauſe he remained idle at Madrid, when he ought to have proceeded in making a proper uſe of the victories won by his generals.

During this confuſion of intrigues and of wars, the Imperialiſts were maſters not only of Milan, but of almoſt the whole province; Francis Sforza poſſeſſing no more than the caſtle of Milan: but as ſoon as the league is ſigned, there is a riſing in the Milaneſe. They take part with their duke. The Venetians march and take Lodi from the emperor. The duke of Urbino enters the Milaneſe at the head of the pope's army. In ſpite of ſo many enemies, the good fortune of Charles preſerves Italy to him: he ought to have loſt it for ſtaying at Madrid; but it is defended for him by the old Antonio de Leva and his other generals. Francis I. cannot march troops faſt enough from his own weakened kingdom; the pope's army acts ſlowly, and that of Venice faintly. Francis Sforza is obliged to give up his caſtle of Milan. A very ſmall number of Spaniards and Germans, properly commanded and accuſtomed to victory, procure all theſe advantages for Charles, at a time of his life when he ſcarcely does any thing himſelf: he remains ſtill at Madrid: he applies himſelf to the regulating ranks and forming titles:

titles: he marries Iſabella, daughter to Emanuel the Great, king of Portugal; while the new elector of Saxony, John the Conſtant, profeſſes the reformed religion, aboliſhing that of Rome in Saxony: while Philip Landgrave of Heſſe does the ſame in his dominions, Frankfort eſtabliſhes a Lutheran ſenate; and while a great number of Teutonic knights, deſtined to the defence of the church, quit it in order to marry, and appropriate to the uſe of their families the commanderies of the order.

Fifty of the knights Templars had been formerly burned, and the order extirpated for no other reaſon but becauſe they were rich. The Teutonic order was powerful: Albert of Brandenburg, who was grand maſter of it, divides Pruſſia with Poland, and remains ſovereign of that part called Ducal Pruſſia, doing homage, and paying tribute to the king of Poland. This revolution is commonly placed in 1525.

Things being thus circumſtanced, the Lutherans haughtily demand the eſtabliſhment of their religion in Germany at the diet of Spire; while Ferdinand, who holds this diet, requeſts aſſiſtance againſt Solyman, who returns to the attack of Hungary. The diet grants neither the liberty of religion, nor the ſuccours in behalf of Chriſtianity againſt the Ottomans.

The young Lewis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, imagines he ſhall be able alone to ſuſtain the attacks of the Turkiſh empire. He hazards a battle with Solyman. It was called The Battle of Mohats, from the field on which it was fought, not far from Buda. It was as dreadful in its conſequences to the Chriſtians as the battle of Varnes. Almoſt all the nobleſſe

of Hungary periſhed therein. The army is entirely cut to pieces, and the king in his flight drowned in a moraſs. The writers of thoſe times tell us, that Solyman cauſed 1500 Hungarian priſoners, who were of the nobleſſe, to be beheaded; yet that he wept at ſeeing the picture of the unfortunate king Lewis. It is ſcarcely credible, that a man, who in cold blood could ſtrike the heads off 1500 noblemen, ſhould weep for the death of one. Theſe two facts are equally doubtful.

Solyman takes Buda, and menaces the ſurrounding countries. This misfortune of Chriſtianity aggrandizes the houſe of Auſtria. The archduke Ferdinand, brother to Charles V. demands Hungary and Bohemia, as eſtates which ought to devolve to him by family compacts, by way of inheritance. This right of inheritance was reconciled by the right of election made by the people, the one ſupporting the other. The ſtates of Hungary elect him on the 26th of October.

In the mean time another party declare John Zapoli count of Scepus, Vaivode of Tranſilvania, king in Alba Regalis. Perhaps no kingdom ſince that time was ſo unfortunate as Hungary. It was almoſt always divided into two factions, and over-run by the Turks. Ferdinand, in the mean time, has the good luck to drive out his rival in a few days, and to be crowned at Buda, whence the Turks had withdrawn themſelves.

1527.

On the 24th of February Ferdinand is elected king of Bohemia without any competitor, and he acknowledges that he holds the kingdom *ex libera*

libera et bona voluntate, by the free and good will of thoſe who had choſen him.

Charles V. remains ſtill in Spain, while his houſe acquires two kingdoms, and his fortune in Italy outſoars his projects.

He pays but badly his troops under the command of the duke of Bourbon, and of Philibert de Chalons, prince of Orange. However, they ſubſiſt upon rapine, to which they give the name of Contribution. The holy league was conſiderably diſordered. The king of France had neglected that vengeance which he ſought after, and had not yet ſent an army beyond the Alps. The Venetians ſtir but little; the pope ſtill leſs; and he is reduced to raiſe very bad troops. Bourbon leads his ſoldiers ſtraight to Rome, which he ſtorms on the 27th, but is killed in ſcaling the walls. However, the prince of Orange enters the town. The pope takes refuge, and is made priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo. The town is pillaged and deſtroyed, as it had formerly been by Alaric and by other Barbarians.

It is ſaid that the pillage amounted to fifteen millions of crowns. Charles, for only requiring half that ſum as its ranſom, might have reigned in Rome: but after the troops had lived there for nine months at diſcretion, he was obliged to part with it. His luck was the ſame with all others who had ſacked that capital.

There had been too much blood ſpilt in this diſaſter; but many ſoldiers, who were enriched by the ſpoil, remained inhabitants of the country; and in Rome and the neighbourhood round it, in ſome few months, were reckoned not leſs than 4700 young women with child. Rome,

that had formerly been inhabited by Goths and Vandals, was now peopled by Spaniards and Germans: the blood of the Romans had been mixed with that of a crowd of ſtrangers under the Cæſars. At this day there is but one ſingle family in Rome that can call itſelf Roman. No more than the name and ruins of this miſtreſs of the world ſubſiſt.

During the impriſonment of the pope, Alphonſo I. duke of Ferrara, from whom Julius II. had taken Modena and Reggio, recovers his poſſeſſions, when Clement VII. capitulates in the caſtle of St. Angelo. The Malateſtas poſſeſs themſelves again of Rimini. The Venetians, allies to the pope, take Ravenna, to guard it for him, ſay they, againſt the emperor. The Florentines, ſhaking off the yoke of the Medicis, ſet themſelves at liberty.

Francis I. and Henry VIII. inſtead of ſending troops into Italy, ſend ambaſſadors to the emperor, who was then at Valadolid. Fortune, in leſs than two years, had put into his hands Rome, the Milaneſe, a king of France, and a pope, without his making uſe of theſe opportunities.

Strong enough to pillage Rome, he was not able to keep it and the old claim, of the emperors, their pretence upon the dominion of Rome remaining ſtill eclipſed.

At length Francis I. ſends an army into the Milaneſe, under that very Lautrec who had before loſt it, leaving his two children ſtill in bondage. This army once more retakes the Milaneſe, which they had won and loſt in ſo ſhort a time. This diverſion and the plague, which ravage Rome and the conquering army

at

at the ſame time, pave the way for the pope's deliverance. Charles V. on one ſide, ſings Te Deum, and makes proceſſions in Spain for this deliverance of the holy father, whom he nevertheleſs holds in captivity; on the other, he ſells him his liberty for 400,000 ducats. Clement VII. lays down 100,000, and makes his eſcape without having paid the reſt.

While Rome is ſacked, and the pope ranſomed in the name of Charles V. the protector of the Catholic faith, ſuch ſects as were enemies to that religion make new progreſs. The ſacking of Rome and the pope's captivity give the Lutherans freſh ſpirits.

Maſs is legally aboliſhed at Straſburg, in conſequence of a public diſpute. Ulm, Augſburg, and many other imperial towns, declare themſelves Lutherans. The council of Berne admit the cauſe of the Catholics and that of the Sacramentarians, diſciples of Zuinglius, to be pleaded before them. Theſe ſectaries differ from the Lutherans principally about the Euchariſt. The Zuinglians affirm, that God is in the bread only by faith; and the Lutherans affirm, that God is with the bread, in the bread, and upon the bread; but all agree, that the bread exiſts. Geneva and Conſtance follow the example of Berne. The Zuinglians are the progenitors of Calviniſts; of people of ſound ſenſe, but ſimple and auſtere. The Bohemians, the Germans, and the Swiſs, are thoſe who ravaged one half of Europe at the ſiege of Rome.

The Anabaptiſts renew their fury, in the name of the Lord, from the Palatinate to Wirtſburg. They are diſperſed by the elector

Palatine, aſſiſted by the generals Truchſes and Fronſberg.

1528.

The Anabaptiſts appear again in Utrecht, and cauſe the archbiſhop of that town, who was the ſovereign of it, to ſell it to Charles V. left the duke of Gueldres ſhould make himſelf maſter of it.

This duke ſecretly protected by France, oppoſes Charles V. whom nothing could hitherto withſtand. Charles makes peace with him, on condition that the duchy of Gueldres and the county of Zutpen ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria, in caſe of the duke's dying without male iſſue.

The quarrels of religion ſeem to demand the preſence of Charles in Germany, while war ſummons him to Italy.

Two heralds, Guienne and Clarencieux, the one on the part of France, the other on that of England, declare war againſt him at Madrid. Francis I. had no buſineſs to declare it, becauſe he had already done it in the Milaneſe, and Henry VIII. ſtill leſs, becauſe he had not done it at all.

It is an idle fancy to think, that princes neither act nor ſpeak but like politicians. They do both like men. The emperor ſharply reproaches the king of England, with his intended divorce from Catherine of Arragon, who was Charles's aunt, and charges the herald Clarencieux, to tell him, that cardinal Wolſey adviſed both the divorce and the war, to revenge himſelf for the loſs of the papacy. As to Francis I. he reproaches him with the breach of his promiſe, and declares he will fight him hand

hand to hand. It is true, that Francis I. had broke his word; but it is no leſs true, that to keep it had been extremely difficult.

Francis I. anſwers him in theſe terms: "You lie in your throat, and as often as you repeat it, you lie,* &c. Appoint the place of combat, we ſhall meet you properly prepared." The emperor ſends a herald to the king of France, to notify the place of combat, whom the king receives on the 10th of September in the moſt magnificent manner. The herald would have ſpoken before the delivery of his letter, wherein was aſcertained the place of engagement; but the king ſilences him, and will only ſee the letter, which therefore was never produced. Thus the time of two kings is taken up, with giving each other the lye by heralds at arms. There is in this procedure an air of knight-errantry and ridicule, very different from our manners.

During all theſe bravadoes, Charles V. loſes the fruits of the battle of Pavia, of the taking of the king, and the captivity of the pope. He is alſo near loſing the kingdom of Naples. Lautrec had already ſeized upon Abbruzo intirely. The Venetians had poſſeſſed themſelves of moſt of the maritime towns of that kingdom. The celebrated Andrew Doria, then in the French ſervice, had with the gallies of Genoa beaten the imperial fleet. The emperor, who ſix months before was maſter of

* This anſwer gives a higher idea of the French king's ſpirit, than of his veracity or good breeding; and yet, when the difference became very critical, his ſpirit ſeemed to flag, as we have obſerved in another part of this work.

Italy, is near being driven out of it; but it is the fate of the French, to loſe always in Italy what they had gained.

The contagion reaches their army Lautrec dies. Naples is evacuated. Henry duke of Brunſwick with a new army approaches to defend the Milaneſe againſt the French, and againſt Sforza.

Doria, who had contributed ſo much to the ſucceſs of France, diſguſted at Francis I. and fearing an arreſt, quits his ſervice, and paſſes over to that of the emperor with his gallies.

The war continues in the Milaneſe, and pope Clement VII. negotiates while he waits the event of it. It was no longer a time to excommunicate an emperor, or transfer his ſcepter into other hands by divine appointment. This formerly might have been the caſe, had he refuſed to lead the pope's horſe by the bridle; but the pope, after his impriſonment, after the ſacking of Rome, ineffectually ſupported by the French, fearing even the Venetians, his allies, willing to eſtabliſh his family at Florence, perceiving beſides Sweden, Denmark, and one half of Germany, fallen from the Roman church; the pope, I ſay, in theſe extremities, reſpected and feared Charles V. ſo very much, that inſtead of breaking the marriage between Henry VIII. and Catherine, the aunt of Charles, he was ready to excommunicate that very Henry VIII. his ally, becauſe Charles required it.

1529.

The king of England, a ſlave to his paſſions, bends his thoughts upon nothing but being ſeparated from his wife Chatherine of Arragon, a very

a very virtuous woman, by whom he had a daughter ſome years before, and marrying his miſtreſs Ann of Bolein, or Bollen, or Boulen.

Francis I. ſtill leaves his two children captives to Charles V. in Spain, and makes war againſt him in the Milaneſe. Duke Francis Sforza ſtill leagued with that king, and ſeeks the countenance of the emperor, willing to preſerve his duchy by the hands of the ſtronger, and fearing to loſe it, either by the one or by the other. Germany is rent by the Proteſtants and Catholics. The ſultan Solyman prepares to attack it, and Charles V. remains at Valadolid.

Old Antonio de Leva, one of the greateſt generals in his time, 73 years old, ſick of the gout, and carried on a litter, defeats the French in the Milaneſe, near the frontiers of Pavia. The remainder of them diſperſe, and quit a country that has been ſo fatal to them. The pope ſtill continues to treat, and had happily concluded his negotiation, before the French receive this laſt ſtroke. The emperor treats the pope very generouſly; firſt, to make amends in the eyes of the Catholicks; and in truth he had ſome need of it, for the ſcandal of ſacking of Rome. Secondly, to engage the pontiff to oppoſe the arms of religion to the ſcandal that was like to fall upon his aunt at London, by making void her marriage, and baſtardizing his couſin Mary, that very Mary, to whom he ought to have been married; and thirdly, becauſe the French were not rooted out of Italy, when this treaty was concluded.

The emperor gives Ravenna, Servia, Modena, and Reggio to pope Clement VII. leaving him at liberty to purſue his pretenſions on

Ferrara. He promiſes him alſo, to give Tuſcany to Alexander de Medicis. The treaty, ſo advantageous to the pope, was ratified at Barcelona.

Immediately after, he agrees to terms with Francis I. who purchaſes his children for 2,000,000 of golden crowns, paid down, and 500,000 crowns to be given by Francis to Henry VIII. being the ſum forfeited by Charles V. for not marrying his couſin Mary.

Francis had certainly nothing to ſay to Charles the Vth's debts; but he was conquered, and his children ought to be redeemed: 2,500,000 golden crowns certainly impoveriſhed France, but was not equal to the value of Burgundy, which remained to the king; beſides, it was ſo contrived with the king of England, that the forfeit was never paid.

France, then impoveriſhed, appears no longer formidable; Italy waits the orders of the emperor; the Venetians temporize, while Germany fears the Turks, and wrangles about religion.

Ferdinand aſſembles a diet at Spire, where Lutherans take the name of Proteſtants from the proteſting of Saxony, Heſſia, Lunenburg, Anhalt, and fourteen imperial towns, againſt the edict of Ferdinand, and appeal to a future council.

Ferdinand leaves the proteſtants to believe and act as they pleaſe: he did well. Solyman, who had no religious diſputes to appeaſe, ſtill intends the crown of Hungary for John Zapoli, Vaivode of Tranſilvania, an oppoſer of Ferdinand, and this kingdom was to have become tributary to the Turks.

Soly-

Solyman ſubdues Hungary, enters Auſtria, takes Altemburg by aſſault, beſieges Vienna on the 26th of September; but Vienna is always the ſtumbling block of the Turks. It is the fortune of the houſe of Bavaria, to defend Auſtria in theſe perils. Philip the Warlike, brother to the elector Palatine, the laſt elector of the eldeſt Palatine branch, defends Vienna. Solyman raiſes the ſiege in 30 days; but remains maſter of Hungary, and gives the inveſtiture of it to John Zapoli.

Charles at laſt quits Spain, and arrives at Genoa, which, no longer French, attends her fate from him. He declares Genoa free, and a fief of the empire. He goes from town to town in triumph, during the time that the Turks beſiege Vienna. Pope Clement VII. waits for him at Bologna, whither Charles at length comes to receive on his knees, the benediction of him, whom he had held captive, whoſe dominions he had deſolated. After having been at the pope's feet as a catholic, he receives, as an emperor, Francis Sforza, who throws himſelf at his feet, and aſks his pardon. He gives him the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe for 100,000 golden ducats paid down, and 500,000 payable in ten years. He gives him his niece, the daughter of the tyrant Chriſtiern in marriage; after which he himſelf is crowned by the pope at Bologna. Like Frederick III. he receives from him three crowns, the one of Germany, the other of Lombardy, and the third of the Empire. The pope, in giving him the ſcepter, addreſſes him thus: "Emperor, our ſon, take this ſcepter, to reign over the people of the empire, over whom we and the electors judge you worthy

to command." In giving him the globe, he ſays to him; "This globe repreſents the world, which you ought to govern with virtue, religion, and conſtancy." The ceremony of the globe recals to mind the image of the ancient Roman empire, maſter of the beſt part of the known world, and in ſome meaſure belonging to Charles V. ſovereign of Spain, Italy, Germany, and America.

Charles kiſſes the pope's feet in the time of maſs, but he had no mule to lead. The emperor and pope eat in the ſame ſtate, each at a table by himſelf.

He promiſes to the pope's nephew Alexander de Medicis, his baſtard Margaretta, with Tuſcany as a portion.

By theſe regulations and conceſſions it is evident, that Charles V. did not aſpire at being king of the Chriſtian continent as Charlemagne had been. He only aimed at being the principal perſonage, at having the chief influence there, and preſerving his right of ſovereignty over Italy. Had he intended to have ingroſſed all to himſelf, he had drained Spain of men and money, to have eſtabliſhed himſelf at Rome, and governed Lombardy as one of his provinces. But this does not do; for the more he had ingroſſed, the more he had to fear.

1530.

The Tuſcans, ſeeing their liberty ſacrificed by the union between the emperor and the pope, have the courage to defend themſelves againſt both; but this courage is uſeleſs, oppoſed to ſtrength. Florence beſieged, ſurrenders upon condition.

Alexander de Medicis is received as their ſove-

ſovereign, and acknowledges himſelf a vaſſal of the empire.

Charles V. diſpoſes of principalities like a judge and a maſter. He gives up Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, in ſpite of the prayers of the pope. He erects Mantua into a duchy. It was at this æra he gave Maltha to the knights of St. John, who had loſt Rhodes. The donation bears date the 24th of March. He makes them this preſent as king of Spain, and not as emperor. He avenges himſelf as much as poſſible upon the Turks, by oppoſing to them this bulwark, which they could never deſtroy.

After having thus diſpoſed of territories, he goes to endeavour to give peace to Germany; but it is much harder to ſettle the quarrels of religion, than the intereſts of princes.

The confeſſion of Augſburg was made about this time, which ſerves as a rule to the proteſtants and a rallying of their party. This diet of Augſburg began the 20th of June. On the 26th the proteſtants preſent their confeſſion of faith in Latin and German.

Straſburg, Menninguen, Lindau, and Conſtance, there preſent their act of Separation, and call it, The confeſſion of the four towns. They were Lutherans like the reſt, and differed but in few points.

Zuinglius alſo ſends thither his confeſſion, altho' neither he nor the canton of Berne were either Lutherans or Imperialiſts.

Diſputes run high. On the 22d of September, the emperor publiſhes a decree, injoining the proteſtants to deſiſt from farther innovations, to leave full liberty to the catholic religion in

in their different territories, and to prepare a preſentation of their griefs, for a council to be convoked in ſix months.

The four towns form an alliance with the three cantons of Berne, Zurich and Baſil, whereby they are to be furniſhed with troops, ſhould any encroachments be made upon their liberty.

The diet makes out the proceſs of the grand maſter of the Teutonic order; Albert of Brandenburg, who, as we have ſeen, had become a Lutheran, poſſeſſed himſelf of ducal Pruſſia, and chaſed out the catholic knights. He is put under the ban of the empire, but is nevertheleſs maſter of Pruſſia.

The diet fixes the imperial chamber in the town of Spire. It is by this, that it is finiſhed; and the emperor appoints another at Cologne, in order to have his brother Ferdinand there elected king of the Romans.

Ferdinand is choſen on the 5th of January by all the electors, except John the Conſtant, of Saxony, who fruitleſsly oppoſes him.

The proteſtant princes at that time, and the deputies of the Lutheran towns unite themſelves at Smalcalde, a town of Heſſia. The league for their general defence, is ſigned in the month of March. Their zeal for their religion, and fear of ſeeing the empire, which was elective, become an hereditary monarchy, were the motives of this league between John duke of Saxony, Philip landgrave of Heſſe, the duke of Wirtemburg, the prince of Anhalt, the count of Mansfield, and the towns of their communion.

1531.

Francis I. who cauſed the Lutherans in his own domi-

dominions to be burnt, promiſes to aſſiſt thoſe of Germany. The emperor then negotiates with them; the Anabaptiſts only are proſecuted, who had ſettled in Moravia. Their new apoſtle, Hutter, who travelled about making proſelytes, is taken at Tirol, and burned at Inſpruck.

This Hutter preached neither ſedition nor ſlaughter, as moſt of his predeceſſors had done. He was a man infatuated with the ſimplicity of the primitive times, and would not allow even his own diſciples to carry arms. He preached up reformation and equality, and therefore they burned him.

Philip, landgrave of Heſſe, a prince worthy of greater power and better fortune, is the firſt who undertakes to re-unite the ſects that are ſeparated from the Roman communion. A project which has been ſince vainly attempted, and would have ſaved much blood to Europe. Martin Bucer was charged, in the name of the Sacramentarians, to reconcile them to the Lutherans. But Luther and Melancthon were inflexible, and in that ſhew themſelves more obſtinate than cunning. The princes and the towns have in view the two objects, their religion, and the reduction of the imperial power to narrower bounds. Had it not been for this laſt article, there had been no civil war. The Proteſtants perſiſt in refuſing to acknowledge Ferdinand for king of the Romans.

1532.

The emperor, made uneaſy by the proteſtants, and threatened by the Turks, ſtifles for ſome time the riſing troubles, by granting to the Proteſtants all they aſked in the diet held at Nurem-

Nuremberg in the month of June; and ſuppreſſing all proceedings againſt them, gives them intire liberty even to the holding a council; nay leaves even the rights of his brother Ferdinand undecided.

He could not have yielded more; but it was to the Turks the Lutherans owed this indulgence.

The condeſcenſion of Charles encourages the Proteſtants to manifeſt their duty. They furniſh an army againſt Solyman, and raiſe, by way of common ſubſidy, 150,000 florins for that ſervice. The pope alſo exerts himſelf, by furniſhing 6000 men and 4000000 crowns. Charles draws troops out of Flanders and Naples. We now ſee an army of above 100,000 men, compoſed of nations different in their language and education, yet animated with the ſame ſpirit, to march againſt the common enemy. The count Palatine, Philip, deſtroys a body of Turks who had advanced as far as Gratz in Stiria. The flower of Solyman's numerous army is cut off, and he is obliged to retreat to Conſtantinople. Solyman, in ſpite of his great reputation, conducts this campaign with little judgment. He had in truth taken many wrong ſteps, bringing with him near 200,000 ſlaves. This was waging war like a Tartar, and not like an experienced commander.

The emperor and his brother, after the departure of the Turks, diſband their army; the greater part of which was auxiliary, and collected only for the preſent danger. But few troops remained under imperial enſigns. At that time every thing was done of a ſudden. There was no eſtabliſhed fund for the maintenance

nance of an army any long time, and very few deſigns were long followed. Seizing an opportunity was every-thing. Charles V. then made war in perſon, which others had ſo long made for him; for till that time, he had ſeen none but the ſiege of the little town of Mouzon, in 1521, ever ſince which having met nothing but good fortune, he had now inclined to partake of the glory.

1533.

He returns into Spain by way of Italy, leaving to his brother the king of the Romans, the care of governing the Proteſtants.

He is no ſooner in Spain, than his aunt Catharine of Arragon is repudiated by the king of England, and her marriage annulled by Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury. Clement VII. could no longer excuſe himſelf from excommunicating Henry VIII.

The Milaneſe were ſtill neareſt the heart of Francis I. This prince ſeeing Charles peaceably inclined, but few troops in Lombardy, and Francis Sforza without children, endeavours to draw off the latter from the emperor's intereſt. He ſends him ſecretly a miniſter named Maraviglia, born in the Milaneſe, with orders not to aſſume any character, although he gave him credential letters.

The ſubject of this man's commiſſion is ſeen into. Sforza, to clear himſelf with the emperor, quarrels with Maraviglia; a man is killed in the fray, and Sforza orders the miniſter's head to be ſtruck off, nor is the king of France able to revenge it.

All that he can do, is to ſecretly aſſiſt Ulric duke of Wirtemburg, to re-enter his duchy, and

and ſhake off the yoke of the houſe of Auſtria. This prince being a Proteſtant, expected his re-eſtabliſhment from the league of Smalcalde, and the king of France's aſſiſtance.

The princes of the league had ſufficient authority in the diet of Nuremburg to have it determined, that Ferdinand king of the Romans ſhould ſurrender the duchy of Wirtemburg of which he was poſſeſſed. The diet in this acted conformable to the laws. The duke had a ſon, who certainly ought not to be puniſhed for the faults of his father. Ulric had not been guilty of treaſon againſt the empire, conſequently his iſſue ought not to be deprived of his poſſeſſions.

Ferdinand promiſes to conform to the decree of the empire, but neglects it. Philip, landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, furnamed very juſtly, the Magnanimous, takes the part of the duke of Wirtemburg: he goes to France; borrows of the king 100,000 golden crowns; raiſes an army of 15,000 men, and reſtores Wirtemburg to its maſter.

Ferdinand ſends troops thither under the command of the very count Palatine, Philip the Warlike, who had beaten the Turks.

1534.

Philip the Magnanimous of Heſſe beats Philip the Warlike. Then the king of the Romans ſubmits to a compoſition.

Duke Ulric was re-eſtabliſhed, but the duchy of Wirtemburg declared a maſculine fief of the arch-duchy of Auſtria; and as ſuch ought to revert, in caſe of the failure of male iſſue, to the arch-ducal houſe.

In

In this year Henry VIII. ſeparates himſelf from the Roman communion, and declares himſelf head of the Engliſh church. This revolution was made without the leaſt trouble. In Germany it was very different. There religion cauſed much bloodſhed, particularly in Weſtphalia.

The Sacramentarians at length became the moſt powerful in Munſter, and drive out biſhop Waldec. The Anabaptiſts ſucceed to the Sacramentarians, and poſſeſs themſelves of the town. This ſect ſpreads itſelf in Friezeland and Holland. A taylor of Leyden, named John, goes to the ſuccour of his brethren with a troop of prophets and aſſaſſins. He cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king, and ſolemnly crowned at Munſter, on the 24th of June.

Biſhop Waldec beſieges the town, aſſiſted by the troops of Cologne and Cleves. The Anabaptiſts compare their enemy to Holofernes, and believe themſelves the people of God. A woman, willing to imitate Judith, goes out of the town with the ſame intention; but, inſtead of returning to her Bethulia, with the biſhop's head, ſhe is hanged in the camp.

1535.

Charles, at that time in Spain, meddled but little in the affairs of the Germanic body, which to him was a continual ſource of uneaſineſs, without the leaſt advantage. He ſeeks for glory in another quarter. Not ſtrong enough in Germany to carry on a war againſt Solyman, he intends revenging himſelf on the Turks by turning his arms againſt the famous admiral Cheredin, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of Tunis, after having driven out the king Muley-Huſſein;

The

The dethroned African came to offer himſelf as a tributary to Charles, who paſſed over into Africa in the month of April, with about 25,000 men, 200 tranſports, and 115 gallies. Pope Paul III. granted him a tenth, which was pretty conſiderable, of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues in the Auſtrian territories. He joined nine gallies to the Spaniſh fleet. Charles goes to attack the army of Cheredin in perſon, which was ſuperior to his in number, but very ill diſciplined.

Hiſtorians report that Charles, before the battle, expreſſed himſelf thus to his generals: "Tho' ſtraw may ripen medlars, our tardineſs rather rots than ripens the courage of our ſoldiers." Princes ſeldom expreſs themſelves thus; they ought to be made to ſpeak nobly, or rather no words ought to be put into their mouths which they never ſaid; almoſt all their harangues are fictions cooked up in hiſtory.

Charles gains a compleat victory, and re-eſtabliſhes Muley-Huſſein, who gives up to him the fortreſs of Gouletta, with an extent of country for ten miles round, declaring himſelf and his ſucceſſors vaſſals to the kings of Spain; ſubmitting to pay, as a tribute, 20,000 crowns a year.

Charles returns a conqueror to Sicily and Naples, bringing with him all the Chriſtian ſlaves whom he had ſet at liberty; beſtowing liberally among them wherewith to carry them to their reſpective homes. Theſe were ſo many mouths who every-where publiſhed his praiſes. Never did he enjoy before ſo fine a triumph.

In this zenith of glory, having repulſed Soliman, given a king to Tunis, and obliged Francis

Francis I. to abandon Italy, he preſſes Paul III. to call a council. The afflictions of the Roman church daily increaſe.

Calvin began to rule in Geneva; the ſect to which he had the credit of giving his name, ſpread itſelf in France, and was to be feared by the Roman church, who ſcarcely retained more than the territory of the houſe of Auſtria and Poland.

In the mean time Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, dies without children; Charles V. ſeizes upon that duchy, as a fief devolving to him. His power and his riches increaſe. His will is a law in Italy, where he is more maſter than in Germany.

At Naples he celebrates the marriage of his natural daughter Margaret with Alexander de Medicis, the created duke of Tuſcany, in the moſt brilliant manner, whereby he increaſes the affection of the people.

1536.

Francis I. did not loſe ſight of the Milaneſe, that ſepulchre of the French. He demands the inveſtiture of it at leaſt for his ſecond ſon Henry. The emperor gives him but empty words. He might have refuſed him plainly.

The houſe of Savoy was no longer attached to France, whoſe ally it had a great while been. The emperor had every-thing; there was ſcarcely a prince in Europe who had not ſome pretenſions at the coſt of his neighbours. The king of France had demands upon the county of Nice, and upon the marquiſate of Salluce. He ſends an army thither, which poſſeſſes itſelf of almoſt all the duke of Savoy's territories, which were not then what they are at this day.

France's real reaſon for having and keeping the Milaneſe was to command and fortify Piedmont; once miſtreſs of the Alps, ſhe had been, ſooner or later, ſovereign of Lombardy.

The duke of Savoy goes to Naples to implore the emperor's protection. This prince, altho' ſo powerful, had yet no army of conſequence in Italy. It was the cuſtom then to have them only for the preſent occaſion; but he at length engages the Venetians in his intereſts; as alſo the Swiſs, who recal their troops from the French army. He ſoon augments his forces, and goes to Rome magnificently attended. He enters it in triumph; but not as a maſter, which he might formerly have done. He takes a ſeat at the conſiſtory, below that of the pope. One is aſtoniſhed to hear a victorious Roman emperor pleading his cauſe before the pope. He pronounces a diſcourſe againſt Francis I. as Cicero had done againſt Antony. But he does what Cicero did not; propoſes fighting his antagoniſt in a duel. There was in all this a mixture of the manners of antiquity, with the ſpirit of knight-errantry. After having ſpoken of duelling, he mentions the council. Pope Paul III. publiſhed the bull of convocation.

The king of France had ſent troops ſufficient to poſſeſs themſelves of the duke of Savoy's territories, then leſt almoſt defenceleſs; but this army was not ſufficiently formidable to reſiſt one ſoon after led by the emperor, compoſed of a number of brave fellows, tutored by victories in Italy, Hungary, Flanders, and Africa.

Charles retakes all Piedmont, Turin excepted. He enters Provence with an army of 50,000 men, while his fleet hovers upon the coaſt, conſiſting

ſiting of 140 veſſels, commanded by Doria. All Provence, excluſive of Marſeilles, is ſubdued and ravaged. He could at that time have revived the antient rights of the empire upon Provence, Dauphiny, and the old kingdom of Arles.

He, on the other hand, preſſes France in Picardy with an army of Germans, which, under count de Reux, take Guiſe, and proceed ſtill farther.

In the midſt of theſe diſaſters, Francis the Dauphin, ſon of Francis I. dies of a pleuriſy at Lions. Twenty authors have affirmed, that the emperor cauſed him to be poiſoned. No calumny can be more abſurd, or more contemptible. What had the emperor to fear from a young prince who had never oppoſed him? What could he gain by his death? Of what mean, and of what ſhameful crime has he been guilty, to lay him under ſuch a ſuſpicion? They pretend, there was poiſon found in the box of Montecuculi, a domeſtic of the Dauphin's, brought into France by Catharine de Medicis.

Montecuculi was quartered, becauſe poiſon was found in his poſſeſſion, and that the Dauphin was dead.

The queſtion was put to him, whether he had ever converſed with the emperor? He anſwered, that having been once preſented to him by Antonio de Leva, that prince had aſked him, what order the king of France obſerved in his meals. Was this a reaſon ſtrong enough to throw the ſuſpicion of ſo abominable and uſeleſs a crime upon Charles V.

The invaſion of Provence is fatal to the French, without being ſerviceable to the empe-

ror, out of whoſe power it is to take Marſeilles. Great part of his army is deſtroyed by ſickneſs. He returns to Genoa on board his fleet. His other army is obliged to evacuate Picardy. France, tho' on the brink of ruin, ſtill holds out. That which had loſt Naples to Francis I. loſes Provence to Charles V. Enterpriſes ſo very diſtant from one another, ſeldom ſucceed.

The emperor returns to Spain, leaving Italy ſubdued, France weakened, and Germany ſtill in trouble.

The Anabaptiſts continue their depredations in Friezeland, Holland, and Weſtphalia, which they call "Fighting the Lord's battles." They go to ſuccour their prophet king John of Leyden, and are defeated by George Schenk, governor of Friezeland. The town of Munſter is taken. John of Leyden and his principal accomplices are ſhewn about in a cage, and afterwards torn with red hot pincers. The Lutheran party increaſe their ſtrength; animoſities alſo increaſe. The league of Smalcald does not as yet produce a civil war.

1537.

Charles is not at eaſe in Spain. There is a neceſſity to ſupport the war which Francis I. had inconſiderately begun, and ſtill continued to wage againſt the emperor.

The parliament of Paris ſummon the emperor, declare him a rebellious vaſſal, and deprive him of the counties of Flanders, the Artois, and the Charolois. This edict ſurely was good, after his having conquered thoſe provinces. The imperial troops, in ſpite of it, advance in Picardy. Francis I. goes in perſon to beſiege Heſdin in the Artois; but is obliged to quit it.

There are ſeveral trivial engagements fought, but the ſucceſs of them undeciſive.

Francis I. reſolves to make a great ſtroke, and hazards Chriſtianity to revenge himſelf on the emperor. He engaged with Solyman that he would invade the Milaneſe, with a powerful army, at the ſame time that the Turks ſhould make a deſcent upon the kingdom of Naples and upon Auſtria.

Solyman keeps his word; but Francis is too weak to be true to his. The famous Captain Pacha Cheredin makes a deſcent, with part of his gallies, upon Apulia; alſo near Otranto. He ravages the country, and carries off 16,000 Chriſtian ſlaves. This is that Cheredin, viceroy of Algiers, whom authors call Barbaroſſa. This nick-name had been given to his brother, who died in the year 1519, after having made ſome conqueſts on the coaſt of Barbary.

Solyman advances into Hungary. Ferdinand king of the Romans comes up with the Turks, between Buda and Belgrade. A bloody battle enſues, in which Ferdinand is put to flight, with the loſs of 24,000 men. One would have imagined Italy and Auſtria were in the hands of the Ottomans, and Francis I. maſter of Lombardy; but this is not the caſe. Barbaroſſa, not finding Francis I. appear to aſſiſt him in the Milaneſe, retreats with his booty and his ſlaves to Conſtantinople. Auſtria is left in ſecurity. The emperor had withdrawn his troops from the Artois and Picardy. His two ſiſters, the one Mary of Hungary, governeſs of the Low-countries, the other Eleonora of Portugal, wife of Francis I. having managed a treaty upon the frontiers, the emperor conſents to it, that he

may have freſh troops wherewith to oppoſe the Turks, and Francis I. is left at liberty to paſs into Italy.

The Dauphin Henry was already in Piedmont, where the French were maſters of almoſt all the towns, ſome few excepted, which were defended by the marquis del Vaſto, whom the French call Duguaſt. A treaty is then concluded for ſome months in this country. This was not making war ſeriouſly, after projects of ſo great and ſo dangerous a nature. He who loſt moſt by this peace was the duke of Savoy, plundered both by friends and enemies; for both Imperialiſts and French keep ſtill the poſſeſſion of moſt of his towns.

1538.

The treaty between Charles V. and Francis I. is prolonged at the expence of the duke of Savoy for ten years.

Solyman is angry that his ally don't purſue his victory. All things are done by halves in this war.

Charles, having paſt into Italy to conclude the treaty, marries his baſtard daughter, widow of Alexander de Medicis, to Octavio Farneſe, grand-ſon to a baſtard of Paul the third duke of Parma, Placentia, and Caſtro. Theſe duchies had been formerly the inheritance of the counteſs Mathilda; ſhe had given them to the church, and not to the pope's baſtards. They have ſince been annexed to the duchy of Milan. Pope Julius II. joined them to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, whence they were detached by Paul III. who gave them to this ſon. The emperor might very juſtly have claimed the ſovereignty of

them; but he rather choſe to favour the pope than quarrel with him.

After all theſe great preparations for defence, Francis I. retires from the frontiers of Piedmont, Charles V. takes the road of Spain, and meets Francis I. at Aguemortes, with as much familiarity as if this prince had never been his priſoner, as if he had never given him the lye, as if he had never challenged him to ſingle combat, as if the king of France had not brought the Turks into the empire; and as if he had not ſuffered Charles V. to be treated as a poiſoner.

1539.

Charles V. is informed in Spain, that Ghent, the place in which he was born, is upon the brink of revolting, in defence of its privileges. All the towns of the Low-countries have certain rights; no aſſiſtance was ever obtained in this flouriſhing country by arbitrary impoſition. The ſtates always furniſhed their ſovereign, when it ſeemed needful, with a free gift, and the town of Ghent, from time immemorial, had enjoyed the prerogative of naming her own contibution. The ſtates of Flanders having granted 120,000 florins, to the governeſs of the Low-countries, appoint 400,000 to be raiſed upon the people of Ghent, who oppoſe this incroachment, and refer to their privileges. The governeſs cauſes the principal citizens to be arreſted; an inſurrection enſues; the inhabitants take up arms: it was one of the richeſt and largeſt cities in Europe. They offer to give themſelves up to the king of France, as to their ſovereign; but he makes a merit of refuſing their propoſal; ſtill flattering himſelf with hopes

of obtaining from the emperor the inveſtiture of Milan for one of his ſons. And what enſues? He obtains neither Ghent nor Milan.

The emperor then demands a paſſage for himſelf thro' France, that he may puniſh the rebels of Ghent. The Dauphin and the duke of Orleans receive him at Bayon. Francis I. goes before him to Chateblerant. Charles V. enters Paris on the firſt of January. The parliament and all the public bodies meet and compliment him without the walls of the town. They carry to him their keys. Priſoners are in his name ſet at liberty. He preſides in parliament, and makes a knight. This act of authority in Sigiſmund was found fault with, in Charles V. it was approved. To create a knight at that time was only declaring a man noble, to which nobility was adjoined an honourable and uſeleſs title.

Knighthood had been in great eſteem in Europe; but it had never been more than a name given inſenſibly to Lords of fiefs, diſtinguiſhed for their military atchievements. By little and little theſe lords of fiefs had erected knighthood into a ſort of imaginary order, compoſed of religious ceremonies of virtue and debauchery. But this title of knight was never part of the conſtitution of a ſtate; they never acknowledged any but feudal laws. A lord of a fief, when a knight, might be more reſpected than another in ſome caſtles, but it was not upon the footing of a knight that he entered the diets of the empire, the ſtates of France, the cortes of Spain, or the parliament of England, but upon the footing of a baron, earl, a marquis, or a duke. The lords bannerets

bannerets in the armies were called knights, but it was not in quality of knights that they had banners, no more than that they had caſtles and territories in quality of Worthies; but they only called them Worthy, becauſe they were ſuppoſed to have done ſome worthy action.

In the main, that which is called knighthood belongs rather to romance than hiſtory. It was little more than an honourable mummery. Charles V. ought not to have created a bailiff of a town in France, becauſe that is a real employment. He conferred the vain title of knight, and, in effect, the real part of this ceremony was his declaring a man to be noble who was not ſo. This nobility was acknowledged in France only by curteſy, out of reſpect to the emperor. But what is moſt likely is, that Charles V. by this procedure, would have inſinuated a belief of the emperor's right to confer this title in every dominion. Sigiſmund had made one knight in France, Charles would therefore make another; nor could this prerogative be refuſed to an emperor to whom they had granted that of ſetting priſoners at liberty.

Thoſe who have imagined that the detaining Charles priſoner was a ſubject of debate, ſpeak without any proof *. Francis I. would have been guilty of the greateſt infamy, if, thro' a mean treachery, he had detained him priſoner, whoſe captive he had been by force of arms.

* Thuanus ſays the conſtable Montmorency diſſuaded Francis from taking any diſhonourable advantage of his gueſt; certain it is, the conſtable was ſoon after diſgraced, being ſuſpected of carrying on a correſpondence with the emperor.

There are ſome ſtate crimes which have the ſanction of cuſtom; there are others which no cuſtom can authorize, and which the chivalry of thoſe times would have diſcountenanced. It is ſaid that the king only exacted from him a promiſe of conferring the Milaneſe on the duke of Orleans, brother to the Dauphin Henry, and that he ſatisfied himſelf with his bare word. Here he piqued himſelf more upon his generoſity than his cunning.

Charles enters Ghent at the head of 2000 horſe and 6000 foot, which he brought with him. The people of Ghent might have raiſed 80,000 armed men, yet they give him no oppoſition.

1540.

On the 12th of May the privileges of Ghent were taken from it, twenty-four of the principal citizens were hanged, the citadel razed to the ground, and the citizens condemned to advance, towards the rebuilding it, 300,000 ducats, and to furniſh 9000 ducats yearly for the ſupport of the garriſon. There is ſeldom a better uſe made of law in the hands of the ſtrong. When the blood of the miniſters of Mary of Burgundy had been here ſhed before her eyes, the town eſcaped without puniſhment, while for ſupporting its real rights it was almoſt ruined.

Francis I. ſends his wife Eleonora to Bruſſels to ſolicit the inveſtiture of Milan; to facilitate which he not only renounces his alliance with the Turks, but enters into an offenſive one with the pope againſt them. It was the emperor's deſign to make him loſe his ally, and yet not to give him Milan.

The

The Lutheran religion, and the league of Smalcald, acquire new ſtrength in Germany, by the death of George of Saxony, the powerful ſovereign of Mifnia and Thuringia. He was a very zealous catholic, and his brother Henry, who continued the line, was a firm Lutheran. George, by his laſt will, diſinherited his brother and his nephews, in caſe they did not return to the religion of their anceſtors, and left his dominions to the houſe of Auſtria. This was quite a new caſe. No law of the empire could deprive a prince of his eſtate on account of his religion. John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and the brave landgrave of Heſſe, George's kinſman, preſerve the ſucceſſion to the natural heir, by furniſhing him with troops. Luther comes to preach among them, and the inhabitants here, as well as thoſe of Saxony and Heſſe, become Lutherans.

Lutheraniſm ſignalizes itſelf by tolerating polygamy. The wife of the landgrave, the daughter of George, indulges her huſband, whom ſhe could not pleaſe, with leave to marry again. The landgrave, being in love with Margaret de Saal, daughter of a Saxon gentleman, propoſes the queſtion to Luther, Melanchton, and Bucer, whether he could, in conſcience, have two wives? and whether the law of nature could, in this point, be reconciled to the Chriſtian law? The three apoſtles, extremely confounded, give him, privately, their permiſſion in writing. All huſbands might be permitted to do the ſame; for, in a caſe of conſcience, a landgrave cannot be allowed greater liberties than another man. But this example was not followed. The difficulties

ficulties enſuing from keeping two wives, exceeds, greatly, the diſguſt ariſing from having only one.

The emperor does his beſt endeavours to overturn the league of Smalcald; and is able only to divide from it Albert of Brandenburg, ſurnamed Alcides. Several conferences are held between the Proteſtants and Catholics, the common conſequence of all which is their being unable to agree.

1541.

On the 18th of July the emperor publiſhes, at Ratiſbon, an Interim, an Inhalt, ſo it is commonly called, or an edict, whereby every perſon is left to his own belief without moleſtation.

This edict was neceſſary now, when armies were to be levied againſt the Turks. We have before remarked, that numerous armies were only levied upon points of exigency. Solyman had been conſidered as the protector of John Zapoli, who had always been competitor for the crown of Hungary with Ferdinand. This protection gave a pretext to the Turkiſh invaſion; for John being dead, Solyman remained in the place of tutor to his ſon.

The imperial army beſieges the young pupil of Solyman in Buda; but the Turks come to his aſſiſtance, and give the Chriſtians an irrecoverable overthrow.

The Sultan, at length, weary of fighting and conquering ſo often for Chriſtians, ſeizes on Hungary as the reward of his victories, and leaves Tranſylvania to the young prince, who, according to his doctrine, could have no hereditary

ditary right to an elective kingdom as Hungary was.

Ferdinand, king of the Romans, then offers to become tributary to Solyman, provided he will give him that kingdom, and is answered by the Sultan, that he muſt renounce all claim to Hungary, and beſides do him homage for Auſtria.

Whilſt things were in this ſituation, and the Turkiſh army diminiſhed by the plague, Solyman returns to Conſtantinople; and Charles paſſes over into Italy. Inſtead of projecting the reſcue of Hungary from the Turks, he prepares for an attack upon Algiers. This was being more attentive to the glory of Spain than that of the empire. Maſter of Tunis and Algiers, all Barbary would have been ſubjected to the Spaniſh yoke; while Germany was to defend itſelf againſt the Turks as well as it could. He lands on the coaſt of Algiers on the 23d of October, with almoſt as many people as attended him at the ſiege of Tunis. But a violent ſtorm having ſunk fifteen of his gallies, eighty-ſix of his veſſels, and his troops having been annoyed on land by the Moors, and ſtorms in conjunction, Charles is forced to reimbark on board the remainder of his ſhips, and arrives at Carthagena in November, with the ruins of his fleet and army. His reputation ſuffers conſiderably. He is blamed for his raſhneſs in this undertaking; yet had he ſucceeded, he had been ſtill the avenger of Europe. The famous Hernan Cortez, the conqueror of ſo many American nations, ſerved as a volunteer in this expedition againſt Algiers. Here he ſaw the difference

ence between a ſmall number of men, who know how to defend themſelves, and multitudes who permit themſelves to be overcome *.

Why Solyman remained inactive after his conqueſts is inconceivable; but it is eaſy to ſee why Germany permitted it. Becauſe the Catholic unite againſt the Proteſtant princes; it is becauſe the league of Smalcald makes war againſt the duke of Brunſwick, a Catholic, drives him out of his dominions, and ſets at ranſom all the eccleſiaſtics. It is, in fine, becauſe the king of France, tired with the refuſal of the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe, prepares ſtrong alliances and potent armies againſt the emperor.

Charles the fifth's life and empire were but one continual tempeſt. The Sultan, the pope, Venice, one half of Germany and France were one or other of them almoſt always againſt him; and ſometimes all together. England was at one time a ſecond, at another an adverſary. No

* Hernan Cortez had been uſed to fight againſt people who did not ſubmit until they had made not barely a gallant, but even a deſperate, defence: witneſs the reduction of Mexico, which was not ſurrendered until great part of the city was filled with the dead bodies of its inhabitants; until the ſurvivors were oppreſſed by famine, and had ſeen their king taken priſoner on the lake. The Moors in Barbary had never made ſuch efforts for the preſervation of their independence.

It was not the army of the Moors which obliged Charles to raiſe the ſiege of Algiers; but the tempeſtuous weather, by which he loſt one hundred ſhips, and fifteen gallies; and the diſeaſes of an unhealthy climate, by which his forces were reduced from twenty-four to ten thouſand men.

emperor

emperor was ever more feared; yet leſs to be feared.

Francis I. ſends an ambaſſador to Conſtantinople * and another to Venice, at one and the ſame time. He who was ſent to Solymán was a native of Navarre, called Rinçone; the other Fregoſe, a Genoeſe. Both were aſſaſſinated on the Po, by the governor of Milan's order.

This murder was perfectly like that of colonel St. Clair, aſſaſſinated in our time, as he returned from Conſtantinople to Sweden: theſe two events were either cauſes of, or pretexts for, a very bloody war. Charles V. diſavows the aſſaſſination of the two ambaſſadors of the king of France. In truth, he looked on them as men born his ſubjects, and become infidels. But it is much better proved that man is born with a natural right to chuſe his own party, than it can poſſibly be, that a prince has any right to aſſaſſinate his ſubjects. If this is one of the prerogatives of royalty, it is very dreadful for it. Charles, in diſavowing the action committed in his name, owned it, in effect, to be a moſt ſhameful crime.

Politics and revenge equally ſpur the armaments of Francis I.

He ſends the Dauphin into Rouſſillon with an army of 30,000 men, and his other ſon, the duke of Orleans, with the like number, into Luxemburg.

* When Charles reproached Francis for having entered into an alliance with the Turks, he replied, "that when he was attacked by wolves, it was excuſable to call in dogs to his aſſiſtance."

The

The duke of Cleves, heir to the duchy of Guelders, invaded by Charles V. was with count Mansfeld in the duke of Orleans's army.

The king of France has ſtill another army in Piedmont. The emperor is aſtoniſhed to find France, which he had ſo often oppreſſed, ſtill miſtreſs of ſuch force, and ſo many reſources. War is waged equally between them, without any advantageous deciſion for either one party or the other. The council of Trent aſſemble during this war. The imperialiſts arrive there on the 28th of January. The Proteſtants refuſe to attend, and the council is ſuſpended.

The END of VOL. XVI.